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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Eadweard Muybridge's
Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872
By MARY V. JESSUP HOOD AND ROBERT BARTLETT HAAS

Progress and Poverty – *A Paradox*
By KENNETH M. JOHNSON

How the Overland Limited Came to the Southern Pacific
By LUCIUS BEEBE

The California Catholic Church in Transition, 1846-1850
By JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S.J.

Site of the Diamond Swindle of 1872
By PETER FARQUHAR

MARCH 1963

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

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4% California sales tax should be added to the above prices for purchases in California.

Please note that the Society absorbs the cost of postage when check accompanies the order.

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California Historical Society Quarterly

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 9, California

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Introducing Our Members

Membership in an historical society presupposes an interest in history. But unless that interest is something greater than a layman's curiosity about the past, it does not follow that a long roster of members will produce many contributions to an historical magazine. Usually its editors must seek their manuscripts from professors of history or other professional writers in this field.

In the case of our own California Society, this *Quarterly* faces an almost unique challenge. Our state has become the leading commonwealth of the Union in population by a growth so dynamic that it bids fair to increase the measure of our pre-eminence. Then too, this second century of our statehood is rooted in an historical subsoil so rich and varied that the most intensive cultivation is required to reap the maximum harvest from it. The vast hordes of newly arrived Californians need light and guidance about both our beginnings and our mores just as much as do the children born within our borders.

California's history is no more a static heritage than is the growth of our towns and cities. It too is a thing of constant change, and its best historians should be those whose daily lives and innumerable activities form a part of it. The membership of the California Historical Society is made up of such men and women. They not only *read* the *Quarterly* but a goodly number of them are well qualified to increase the historical knowledge of their fellow members. I like to think then of this magazine as a forum for such an exchange of our members' experience, research, and scholarship.

The present issue of the *Quarterly* is an excellent affirmation of the above. The five articles, all written by our members, are entirely independent of each other in theme and treatment. In all probability, none of the authors was aware of the others' contributions. Oddly enough, however, their writings each describe events and personalities pertaining to a relatively brief span in California history. One deals with a pioneer photographer of our state's scenic splendors, another with the creation of an epochal book on economics, a third with a picturesque phase of overland transportation, a fourth with the condition of Catholicism, and another reports the author's on-the-ground research into a gigantic fraud that rocked the continent. The subjects are as dissimilar as possible, but all deal with that period of transition from pioneer days to the modern era—mostly the "discontented seventies," as Mr. Johnson calls the years that climaxed the change.

In this single issue, these writers throw fresh light on a period when men were eagerly pursuing new ideas. They were still excited by the novel scenes around them. They were cementing the foundations of our California of today. These accounts of some of their successes and failures help us better understand our state in 1963.

In the light of such contributions our Society has a right to be proud of its membership. But scholarship in the field of history is not its only distinction. Annual dues from its members provide seventy per cent of the entire budget of the Society. In this respect the California Historical Society ranks first among all American organizations in its field—further proof that the greatest asset of a historical society is its members.

Dwight L. Clarke

Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872

By MARY V. JESSUP HOOD AND
ROBERT BARTLETT HAAS

IN THE LATE SUMMER OF 1872 Eadweard J. Muybridge, the celebrated San Francisco photographer, returned from a strenuous trip to the valley of the Yosemite with over five hundred glass-plate negatives to print what were to be described as "the most perfect photographs ever offered for public inspection."[1] He spent the fall and winter months preparing this material for distribution—printing, trimming and assembling—and by April, 1873, his new publishers, Bradley and Rulofson, announced its completion.

Rave notices appeared in the press at home and abroad; barely a local family went without some example of Muybridge's work; "Views of the Yosemite Valley" rapidly achieved national as well as international acclaim. Yet today no complete set of the Muybridge 1872 photographs of the valley has been found. Those views which remain are scattered

---

ROBERT BARTLETT HAAS, head of arts and humanities, University Extension, UCLA, has for many years been interested in preparing the biographies of early San Francisco artists and photographers. He has just completed a full-length biography on Eadweard J. Muybridge, "Man in Motion," for which he has researched in America and Europe since 1952.

MARY V. JESSUP HOOD, collaborator Yosemite National Park, is a conservationist and specialist in the history of early photography. She and her husband have contributed to ecology by retaking early California photographs at their exact sites. She has systematically accumulated photocopies of the work of Yosemite photographers, so that accurate dating has become possible for the first time.

Dr. Haas is currently working with the Hoods in preparing articles on the work of Vance, Weed, Watkins, Houseworth, Taber, Fiske and other wet-plate photographers.

so widely among public and private collections that even these have never been studied in their entirety.

Moreover, we know that Muybridge made an earlier photographic foray to the famous valley. He spent five productive months there in 1867, securing over two hundred and fifty views, which are his earliest known work.[2] These pictures, too, achieved a certain fame in their time, but are little known today.

Muybridge's Yosemite Valley photographs have been obscured by the renown of his other efforts—first, by the deluge of pictures he brought back to San Francisco from trips to such far-flung places as Alaska and Central America; and, secondly, by the vast excitement of his later photographic studies of man and animals in motion, begun in 1872 under the patronage of Leland Stanford.

It has been the project of the present authors to reassemble (by means of photocopies) the most complete file possible of Muybridge's 1867 and 1872 photographs of the valley,[3] to compare and contrast these with the efforts of his contemporaries, and to form some judgment of his work up to the point in his career when he undertook his first studies in the analysis of motion through instantaneous photography.

Muybridge the Man (1830-1867)

Comparatively little is known of Muybridge before the appearance of his first Yosemite pictures of 1867.

He was born in 1830 in Kingston-Upon-Thames, Surrey, England, and was baptized Edward James (Muggeridge). His father, John Muggeridge, was a corn and small-coal dealer who died when the boy was thirteen. When his formal education ceased, he decided to make a career for himself in America. Around 1850 he became a commission merchant, representing various book publishers in London, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. He appears to have come West in the wake of the pioneer daguerreotypist, Silas Selleck, whom he had met in New York.

Between 1856 and 1860, known as "Eadward Muygridge," he established an antiquarian bookstore in San Francisco.[4] There is as yet no evidence that he worked as a photographer, either amateur or professional, during this period, although a news items in *The Hydraulic Press* for June 4, 1859, reports "fine photographic copies of famous paintings

. . . may be seen at Muygridge's bookstore." Whether Muybridge produced these photocopies himself (as he was later to do) or merely purveyed them is not known.

Successful and prosperous at the age of thirty, he left the San Francisco bookstore in the hands of his brother, Thomas S. Muggeridge, and started on a business trip to England.[5] Somewhere between the Texas Lower Cross Timbers and Fort Smith, Arkansas, travelling via the Butterfield Overland Mail Route, he was thrown from a stagecoach and so badly injured that he remained under medical treatment in England for several years.

Muybridge's London physician (the eminent Dr. Gull of Guy's Hospital) was probably responsible for discouraging his return to the confining work of the bookstore and for encouraging his discovery of a suitable out-of-door profession. The newly popular stereoscopic photography and the advent of the repeatable paper print suggested a lucrative field of endeavor, and the American West beckoned him again as an uncharted region for systematic, outdoor camera work.

In 1867 "Eadweard Muybridge" (his second name change) reappeared in San Francisco—somewhat more eccentric and unpredictable than his friends remembered him—but this time a master photographer. He associated himself with Selleck's Gallery, The Cosmopolitan Gallery of Photographic Art, as the "out-door-man" and struck out immediately for that relatively unknown wonder of the world, the valley of the Yosemite.

MUYBRIDGE AND THE YOSEMITE (1867)

The Yosemite had been photographed previously. Its first photographer was Charles L. Weed, a man whose work has been almost forgotten today.[6] He had arrived in the valley on June 17, 1859, with a party from San Francisco led by James M. Hutchings. Weed's first subjects in the valley were a study of Yosemite Falls from the base, creating the illusion that the three falls were one, and Hite's primitive hotel.[7] He returned to San Francisco "with at least twenty (10 x 14) large plates and forty stereos" which his employer, Robert H. Vance, advertised for sale. Several of these appeared as engravings in *Hutchings' California Magazine* and then in Hutchings' books, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (1861) and *In the Heart of the Sierras* (1886).

The second photographer to work extensively in the valley was the renowned Carleton E. Watkins. He too had been a Vance employee, at the San Jose branch, but by 1857 he had acquired his own gallery in San Francisco. Watkins entered the Yosemite Valley for the first time in 1861. He brought with him a view camera capable of taking 18 x 22 glass plate negatives.[8] We are told that "thereafter he returned again and again until his name became indelibly linked with the Valley." Mount Watkins bears his name today. Watkins' big photographs are well represented in historical collections, but they are not considered as "artistic" as Muybridge's, particularly after the 1872 series appeared. Some of Watkins' 8 x 12 photographs of the valley taken in 1864 and 1865 were incorporated in the Geological Survey Reports of California, notably *Geology*, *Volume I* (1865), *Volume II* (1882), and *The Yosemite Book* (1868).

The third wet-plate photographer to predate Muybridge was W. Harris who completed for J. D. Whitney, director of the Geological Survey, a series of views taken in and around Tuolumne Meadows, "where Watkins failed to go" in 1866.[9] Four of these may also be found in *The Yosemite Book.*

At this juncture Muybridge chose to return to California. He elected to begin his documentation of the West with a "sure thing," a series of photographs of the "Yo-Sem-i-te Valley." Such a project in the 1860's was an expensive and arduous affair, requiring elaborate equipment which was unpacked and repacked at each stage of the journey.

The trip from San Francisco to Stockton was made by river steamboat. Here jouncing stages or a rented wagon carried the traveller forward. A careful examination of Muybridge's stereos reveals that he first visited the Calaveras Grove of Big Trees, sixteen miles beyond the town of Murphys, where he secured some twenty-five views.[10] Then his cumbersome equipment—small view camera, stereoscopic camera, cases of heavy glass plates, bottles of chemicals, the dark-room tent, tools, camping equipment, food and firearms—must have been reloaded for the journey to the valley. He would have travelled south on the regular stage roads from Murphys to Jacksonville on the Tuolumne. Here he had the choice of two routes: one ending at Black's on Bull Creek, the other a few miles beyond Big Oak Flat. His precious possessions were then repacked for the last time and entrusted to the Argus of a mountain guide and a string of half wild mules and mustangs. In this manner Muybridge must have reached his first breath-taking view of the valley, at the scenic spot described so frequently by early travellers to the area as "The Standpoint of Silence."

He seems to have established himself on the valley floor, at or near Hutchings' Hotel. He photographed the hotel, enjoyed playing with the Hutchings' children (one of whom he taught to say, "I used to smoke a Meersham, now I smoke a 'torn-tob' ") and adopted Hutchings' manner of using the ponderous Indian place-names in the titles of his photographs.

With the hotel as his center, Muybridge moved slowly about the valley during the spring and summer of 1867, photographing from the chief vantage-points as light, weather, and rough trails would permit. He employed two cameras: one a 5½ x 8½ glass plate camera which took the views used by John S. Hittell in *Yosemite: its wonders and its beauties*, the first Valley guide-book; the other a stereoscopic camera which took the popular double-views called stereographs. A comparison of the larger prints with some of the stereographs suggests that the larger photographs were taken in the spring while the stereos were taken, at certain spots, both in the spring and summer.[11] He did not number his pictures as he took them in the field, but arranged them at home in a natural order, beginning with the north side of the valley at the foot of the Mariposa Trail and progressing as follows:

I. Bridal Veil Meadow Area—from Moonlight Rock to El Capitan Meadow
II. El Capitan Meadow Area—from El Capitan to Sentinel Rock
III. Sentinel Meadow Area—from Sentinel Rock to Yosemite Fall
IV. Stoneman Meadow Area—from the Meadow to Mirror Lake
V. Canyon of the Merced Area—from Happy Isles to top of Nevada Fall (1867: no photographs of Little Yosemite)
VI. Rim of the Valley Area—from Panorama Cliff to Inspiration Point
— High Country Area (1867: no photographs taken)

These six areas yielded seventy-two large views which are presently unknown, except as they are represented in the twenty greatly reduced prints which illustrate Hittell's *Yosemite: its wonders and its beauties* (now an excessively rare book), or in an album of prints now in the Pitman Collection which provide us with only five more. On the other hand, the 114 stereographs of this period are scattered through various collections. The fortunate discovery of several albums at the San Francisco College for Women, possibly Muybridge's own studio sample books (which now have been collated by photocopy), allows us for the first time to study the whole series of stereographs as Muybridge himself arranged them. From these we learn that most of his views were taken from the valley floor. He also made arduous though not unusual expeditions to the base of Upper Yosemite Fall and to Panorama Cliff. Watkins had earlier visited the foot of Illilouette Fall, securing only stereographs there. Weed had penetrated to Bunnell Cascade in Little Yosemite in 1864. But Muybridge surpassed them both with a really strenuous trek to Glacier Point, Sentinel Dome, and then to the most remote spot he reached in 1867, Taft Point. Hutchings gave him the credit for discovery of the Fissures: "Back of this point, high up toward the top, Mr. E. J. Muybridge . . . discovered a remarkable fissure in the wall rock. 'It is,' he says, 'one thousand feet deep, five feet wide at the top and front, and gradually growing narrower as it goes down and back into the mountain. Several stones have fallen into it, and lodged about half way down'."[12] Stereo number 114 documents Muybridge's find and culminates his 1867 work in the valley.

By February, 1868, Muybridge had arranged the results of his trip and was planning his sales campaign. He issued a brochure from Selleck's, claiming to be publisher of the Yosemite photographs but hiding his authorship of the pictures under the pseudonym Helios:

> I am now preparing for publication twenty views of our world-renowned Yo-Semite Valley, photographed last year by "Helios." For artistic effect, and careful manipulation, they are pronounced by all the best landscape painters and photographers in the city to be the most exquisite photographic views ever produced on this coast, and are marvelous examples of the perfection to which photography can attain in the deliniation of sublime and beautiful scenery, as exemplified in our wonderful valley.
>
> Upon my list of subscriber's for the series—among the names of nearly all our best known connoisseurs and patrons of art—are those of Messrs. C. Nahl, Keith, Wandesforde, Norton Bush, Jewett, Kipps, Denny, Van Vleck, Bloomer, etc., artists; Messrs. Wm. Shew, Rulofson, Selleck, A. Nahl, Edouart, White, Vaughan, and other photographers.

> The size is most convenient for transmission abroad, for binding, or the portfolio: 6 x 8 inches, mounted on tinted background boards 14 x 18 inches. The price at which they will be issued ($20 for the series), placing them within the reach of those having only moderate resources, will probably command for them a sufficiently extensive sale to remunerate me for the great expense attending their production.
>
> Your obed't Serv't
> Edw. J. Muybridge
> 415 Montgomery Street[13]

Artists and the press were treated to a preview of the series, and both the *Call* and *Bulletin* devoted space to favorable notices:

> "Watkins'" splendid Yosemite series has long challenged admiration and has made certain points of the wonderful valley widely known. A new Yosemite series has been taken by a photographer of this city, who hides his name under the significant classicism of "Helios".
>
> These views, 20 or 30 in number, are taken from fresh points, selected with a nice regard to artistic effect, and illustrating the valley and its cliffs and falls more variously than any previous series. . . .[14]
>
> The views surpass, in artistic excellence, anything that has yet been published in San Francisco, resembling, as they do, the absolute correctness of a good sun picture after nature, with the judicious selection of time, atmospheric conditions and fortunate points of view. In some of the series we have just such cloud effects as we see in nature or oil painting. . . .
>
> The publisher of this remarkable series of portfolio pictures seems to have the best names of San Francisco art critics on his subscription books, and will probably find that our people encourage meritorious home art. . . .[15]

Muybridge sent a hundred and twenty-five prints of the Yosemite views to the editor of the *Philadelphia Photographer* for review. By March, 1868, the Photographic Society of Pennsylvania had resolved, "That this Society takes great pleasure in attesting their high appreciation of the artistic skill in the selection of these views, and the eminent talent evinced in their photographic reproduction." This commendation was printed in the *Philadelphia Photographer* for April and aroused such curiosity among members of the photographic profession nationally that the journal's editor, Edward L. Wilson, borrowed from Muybridge four or five of the glass negatives, from which original prints were made and tipped in as the feature embellishment of his November, 1869, issue. The accompanying review, fulsome in its praise of Muybridge's work, compared him favorably with "the great Wilson, of Scotland," thus establishing his status as a photographers' photographer.

Local fame followed the publication of Hittell's *Yosemite: its wonders and its beauty*, which carried, as was mentioned earlier, twenty photographic prints made by Helios but much reduced in size. By May, 1868, Muybridge was advertising in Hittell's *Yosemite*, "Scenery of the Yosemite Valley," a series of two hundred and sixty views—one hundred 6 x 8 inches, and one hundred and sixty views for the stereoscope. These he sold in quantity from Selleck's in San Francisco and from Messrs. Wilson, Hood, and Company of Philadelphia who became agents for the stereos in the East.

An excellent publicist, Muybridge kept San Francisco's taste-makers informed about his work. He presented a number of prints to the directors of the Mercantile Library, where he had once been a member of the board:

> Gentlemen:
>
> Accompanying this are a few photographs of the Yosemite Valley, published by me and of which I beg your acceptance.
>
> Some of the members of your board I know to possess considerable discrimination and a very refined taste in artistic matters, I shall therefore be pleased to receive and [sic] expression of the boards opinion respecting the merits of the prints.
>
> Your worthy Ex-President whom I believe to be considerable of a connoisseur expressed a desire to have them framed and placed in some desirable place in the new building, should this be concurred in by the rest of the board I shall feel highly flattered.
>
> I am, Gentlemen
> Your Obd't Serv't
> (E. J. Muybridge)[16]

Taken, as these pictures of Yosemite were, before the completion of the transcontinental railroad, we now realize how influential they were in stimulating tourist interest in the West in general and in the valley in particular.

In considering the special characteristics and qualities of Muybridge's early work, one must first of all grant its technical excellence. But technically competent results were produced by Weed and Watkins as well. The uniqueness of Muybridge's pictures lies elsewhere:

(1) *Persistence*—He was not satisfied to repeat the points of view chosen by his predecessors. The usual "vantage points" suggested by Hutchings or the valley guides were his starting point but not his limitation. He sought variety, returning to his own favorite spots at

different times of the day and season, as if to capture these variations for his personal gratification. These subtle differences are often not noticed until specific prints are compared.

(2) *Selectivity and Mood*—No other photographer of the valley so directly reveals which aspects of the life around him he chooses or rejects. For example, only about one twenty-fifth of the 1867 pictures reflect any *human* life or activity. Of course Muybridge was not a portrait photographer, but the virtual absence of human beings in his landscape work is very noticeable. Having chosen the *natural* world as his proper subject, Muybridge further concentrated his attention upon its most transient aspects: moonlight, mist, shadowy textures, reflections, the effects of cloud, light, and rainbow. A preoccupation with the portrayal of rushing and falling water prefigures his later concern with the photography of motion. In this selectivity Muybridge achieved an unique mode of expression. The romanticist rather than the topographical realist emerges in many of his Yosemite landscapes.

(3) *Taste and Technical Skill*—In order to heighten the effect of his pictures, Muybridge not only chose his subject matter for its expressive value, but he also magnified the tonal variety of his pictures by adding cloud effects, either painting them in on the original negative or printing them in from a second negative of clouds photographed for that purpose.[17] To accomplish this he invented and patented the "Sky Shade," a device for "holding back" the sky portion of a negative while exposing fully for the scenery. Thus, he was able to compose or print in later a clouded sky and thereby control the exact mood of his pictures in the printing room. A comparison of the pallid, overexposed skies of Weed's and Watkins' early Yosemite pictures with the technically realized sky effects of Muybridge quickly demonstrates how much more technical skill, care and taste he shows in this respect.

MUYBRIDGE THE MAN (1868-1872)

After 1868 Muybridge became established in San Francisco as a worthy exponent of his new profession. Other series followed "Scenery of the Yosemite Valley": "Mammoth Trees," "San Francisco Views," "Mining Scenes," and "Principal Places of Interest on the Coast."

"Helios," he announced, " is prepared to accept commissions to photograph Private Residences, Views, Animals, Ships, etc., anywhere in the city, or any portion of the Pacific Coast."

His next commission of note took him to a little known territory. He was "appointed to accompany General Halleck for the purpose of illustrating the Military Posts and the Harbors of Alaska." Eadweard Muybridge provided photographic documentation of areas in and around Sitka. In August, 1868, for as long as climatic conditions were favorable, he gathered views there and at stopping points along the route of the Alaska Steamship Company, such as Victoria, Nanaimo, Bella Bella, Fort Tongass, and Fort Wrangel. The Alaskan pictures were officially accepted by Halleck on October 13, 1868:

> I have to acknowledge the receipt of copies of your photographs of forts and public buildings at Sitka and other military posts taken for use of War Department and also views of scenery in Alaska. These views besides being beautiful works of art give a more correct idea of Alaska and its scenery and vegetation than can be obtained from any written description of that country.
>
> Very respectfully yours,
> (General Halleck)[18]

After Halleck's official report and Muybridge's pictures were made public, Seward was largely vindicated for the purchase of Alaska which, till then, had been thought of by many as a "frozen God-forsaken wilderness" and popularly dubbed "Seward's Folly."

Between the years 1868 and 1873 Muybridge referred to himself as Director of Photographic Surveys on the Pacific Coast. He apparently executed other commissions for the Lighthouse Board, and the Treasury and War departments. Very lucrative series resulted from these trips: "Alaska," "Vancouver Islands," and "The Pacific Coast." These are well known in Western collections, either in their stereoscopic or large print form.

Around 1869 Muybridge terminated his arrangements with The Cosmopolitan Gallery and shifted his studio to Nahl's at 121 Montgomery Street. For a year or two he maintained independent showrooms at 111 Montgomery and at Woodward's Gardens. During this period the additional series to reach the market were titled: "San Francisco" (continued), "Studies of Trees," and "Views in Woodward's Gardens." In 1871 and 1872 he became affiliated with Houseworth's Gallery at 12 Montgomery Street, opposite the Lick House. He travelled extensively during these years and produced the following series: "Geysers," "Pacific Railroads," "Coast and Mining Scenes," "Chinese and Indians," "A Vintage in California," "Studies of Trees and Clouds," and "Marine and Moonlight Effects." By 1872 Muybridge claimed to have made views in the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, and Oregon.

1872 marks an important turning point in his life. (1) At the age of forty-two he married the young and beautiful Flora Stone. She was half his age, and a recent divorcée. Two years later her second marriage was to end in tragedy for them both. (2) In 1872, Bradley and Rulofson, San Francisco's largest photographic gallery, laid plans to steal Muybridge away from Houseworth's and to incorporate him into their rapidly expanding business, which they did in 1873. (3) In 1872 Muybridge projected his second Yosemite trip—this time planning to spend six months in the valley, carrying with him (in addition to his stereo and small view cameras) a large-view camera equipped to yield prints 17 x 21 inches. (4) Also, in 1872, just before he left for the valley, he became involved in a project which was destined to alter his career. He was commissioned by Leland Stanford to photograph the racehorse Occident in rapid motion. This he did in Sacramento, between late April and the beginning of May. Despite the technical limitations of "instantaneous photography" at the time, Muybridge succeeded well enough to prove Stanford's point, that the camera, being quicker than the eye, could supply incontrovertible evidence that there is an instant in the stride of a trotting horse when all four feet of the animal are completely off the ground. On the strength of Muybridge's results in 1872 Stanford invested, during the next decade, many thousand dollars in the photographic investigation of animal locomotion. Neither Stanford nor Muybridge realized in April, 1872, it is safe to say, that their eventual collaboration in a full scale scientific study of motion would one day lead to the claim that Muybridge was the "father" of the great motion picture industry!

MUYBRIDGE AND THE YOSEMITE (1872)

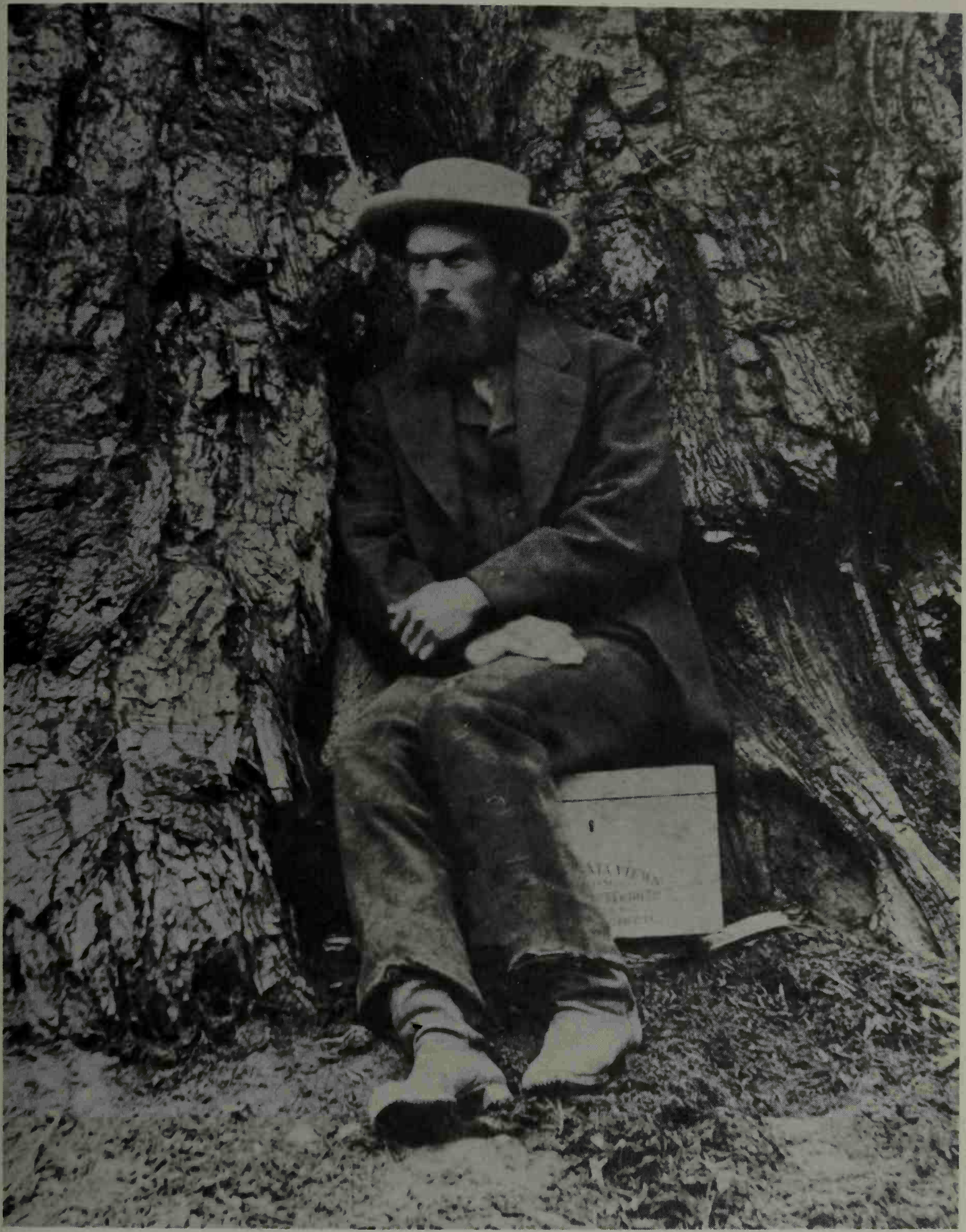
Helen Hunt wrote in *Bits and Travel at Home*, "There are but two things to do in San Francisco (besides going to the Chinese Theater). One is to drive out of the city, and the other is to sail away from it." Then she remembered, "I said there were but three things to do in San Francisco. There are four. And the fourth is to go and see Mr. Muybridge's photographs . . . I am not sure, after all, that there is anything so good to do in San Francisco as to spend a forenoon in Mr. Muybridge's little upper chamber, looking over these marvellous pictures." His work reminded Helen Hunt of the finest oil paintings: "the whole reminds one of Teniers," or "as perfect a Millet as could be imagined."[19] Muybridge was soon to become so artistic a photographer that his views were no longer compared with paintings, rather paintings were made to approximate his photographs. Helen Hunt already had classified Muybridge as an artist. Only an artist by nature would know, she concluded, how to choose the exact point from which a landscape should be rendered.

In the course of her discussions with Muybridge, "H. H." remarked it was unfortunate that he had not undertaken any large views of the Yosemite Valley. She felt Easterners knew the valley chiefly through the "big but inartistic" views of Watkins. Muybridge then showed her the storeroom of materials and equipment that he was preparing for just such a Yosemite trip.

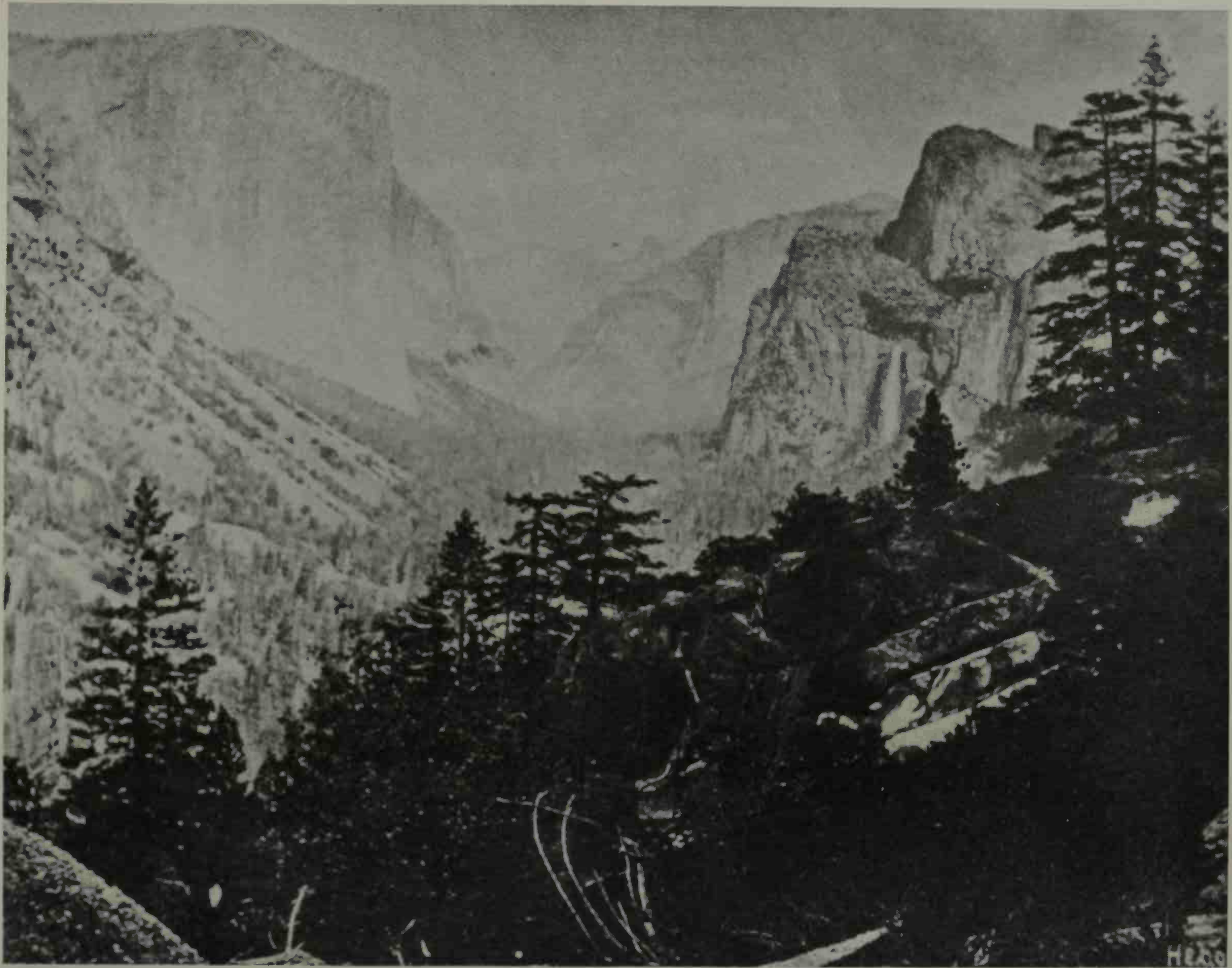
A few weeks later he was on his way to the valley. As the long line of packmules loaded with photographic equipment dropped down one of the last stretches of mountain trail, a group of tourists on their way out of the valley drew aside to let the photographer's party pass. In the tourist group was Helen Hunt. When she recognized Muybridge, she bade him good luck and goodbye, promising to bring his new Yosemite pictures to the favorable attention of her readers in Boston and New York. This was his good omen for a productive summer.

In a prospectus of May, 1872, sent out from Houseworth's, Muybridge had already outlined his purpose:

> At the suggestion of several artists and patrons of Art, I propose devoting the approaching season to the production of a series of large-size photographic negatives, illustrating the Yosemite and other grand picturesque portions of our coast.
>
> I am encouraged in this undertaking from the generally expressed opinion, especially of our best Art Critics, that although many carefully executed large-size photographs of our scenery have already been published, yet the wonderful improvement in the science of photographic manipulation, and a judicious selection of points of view, with an aim at the highest artistic treatment the subject affords, will result in a more complete realization than has hitherto been accomplished of the vast grandeur and pictorial beauty for which our State and Coast have so world-wide a reputation. To those gentlemen who are acquainted with



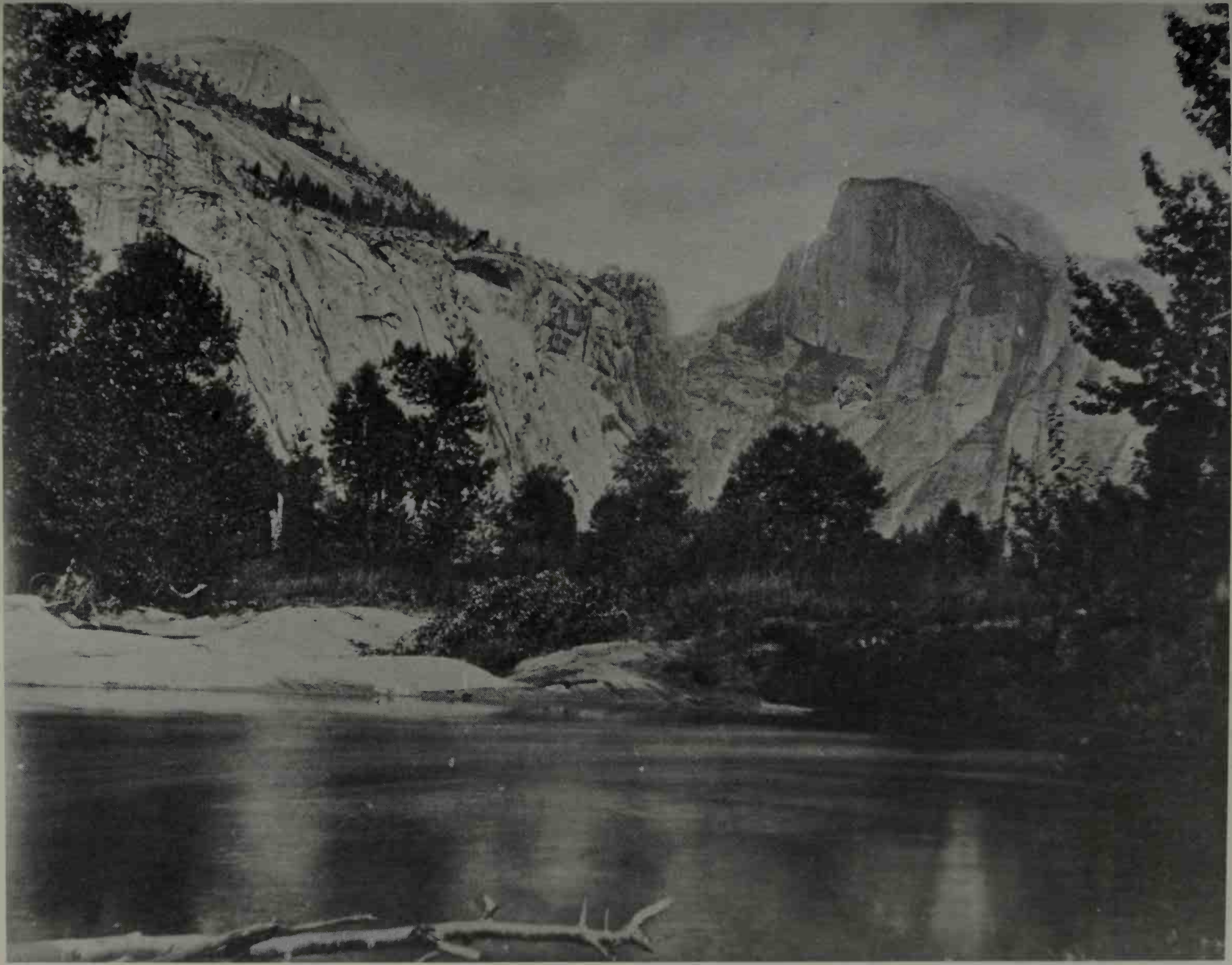
EADWEARD J. MUYBRIDGE, 1872
Taken at the completion of his photographic endeavors in the Yosemite region.
Detail from 17 x 20 print.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley



"General View of Yosemite Valley east from Komah – Moon Rock," 1867

Both the 1867 and the 1872 valley series begin from this point, near the east end of the present Wawona Tunnel. 2½ x 3½ print.

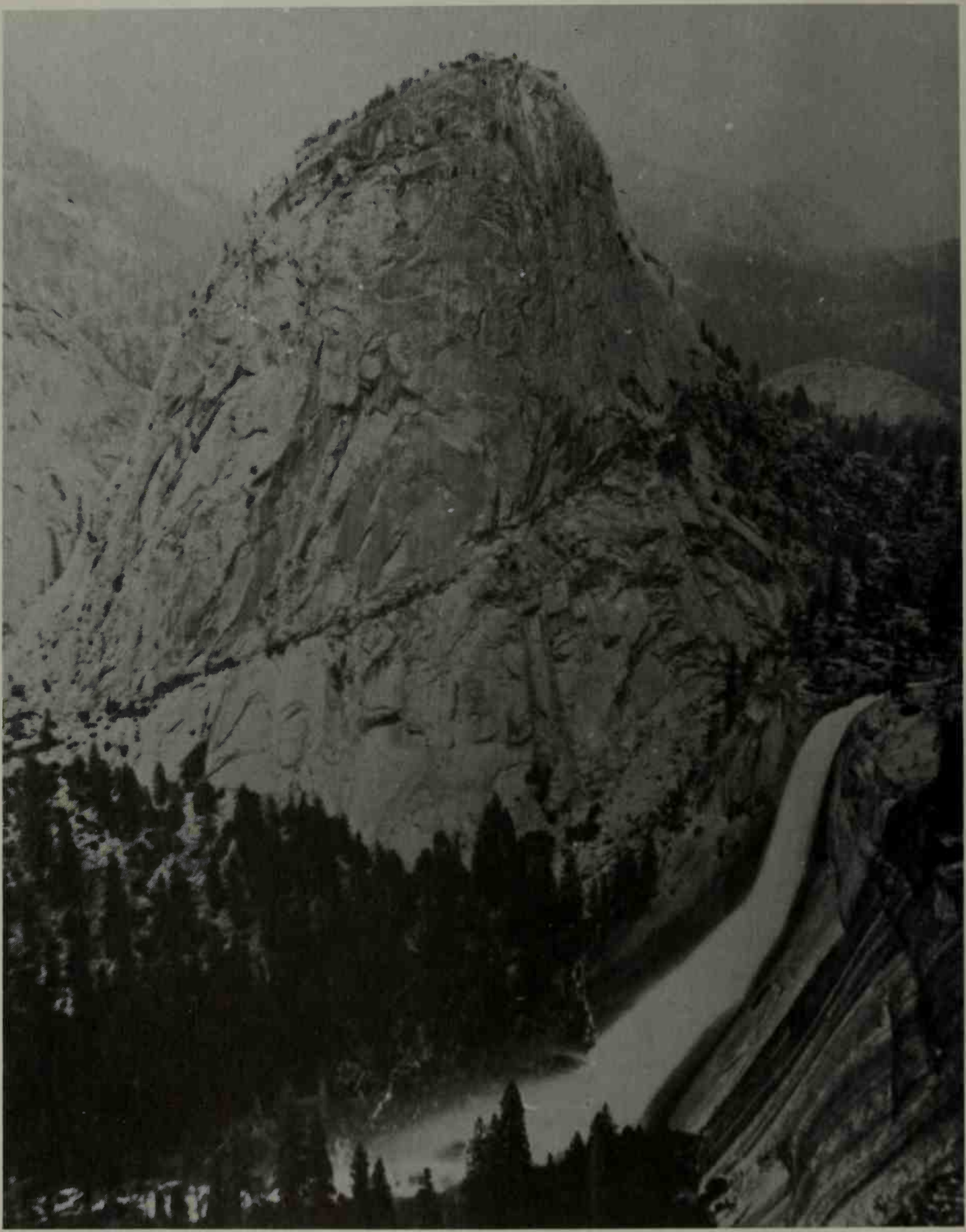
Courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento



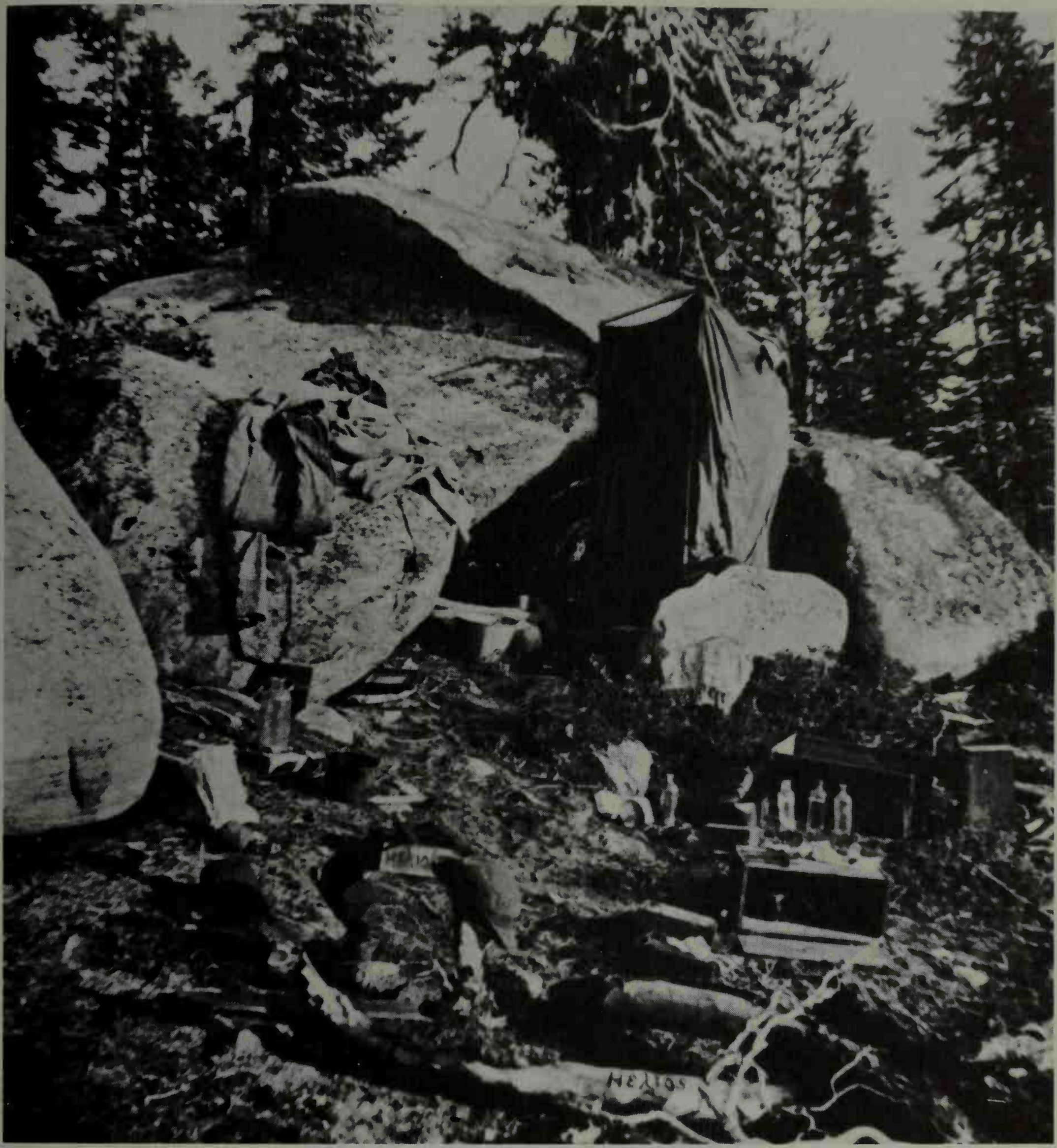
UNTITLED: THE DOMES FROM THE MERCED RIVER, 1867

A superb example of Muybridge's use of clouds in the early series. 5¾ x 7¾ print.

Courtesy of Richard Pitman, Oakland



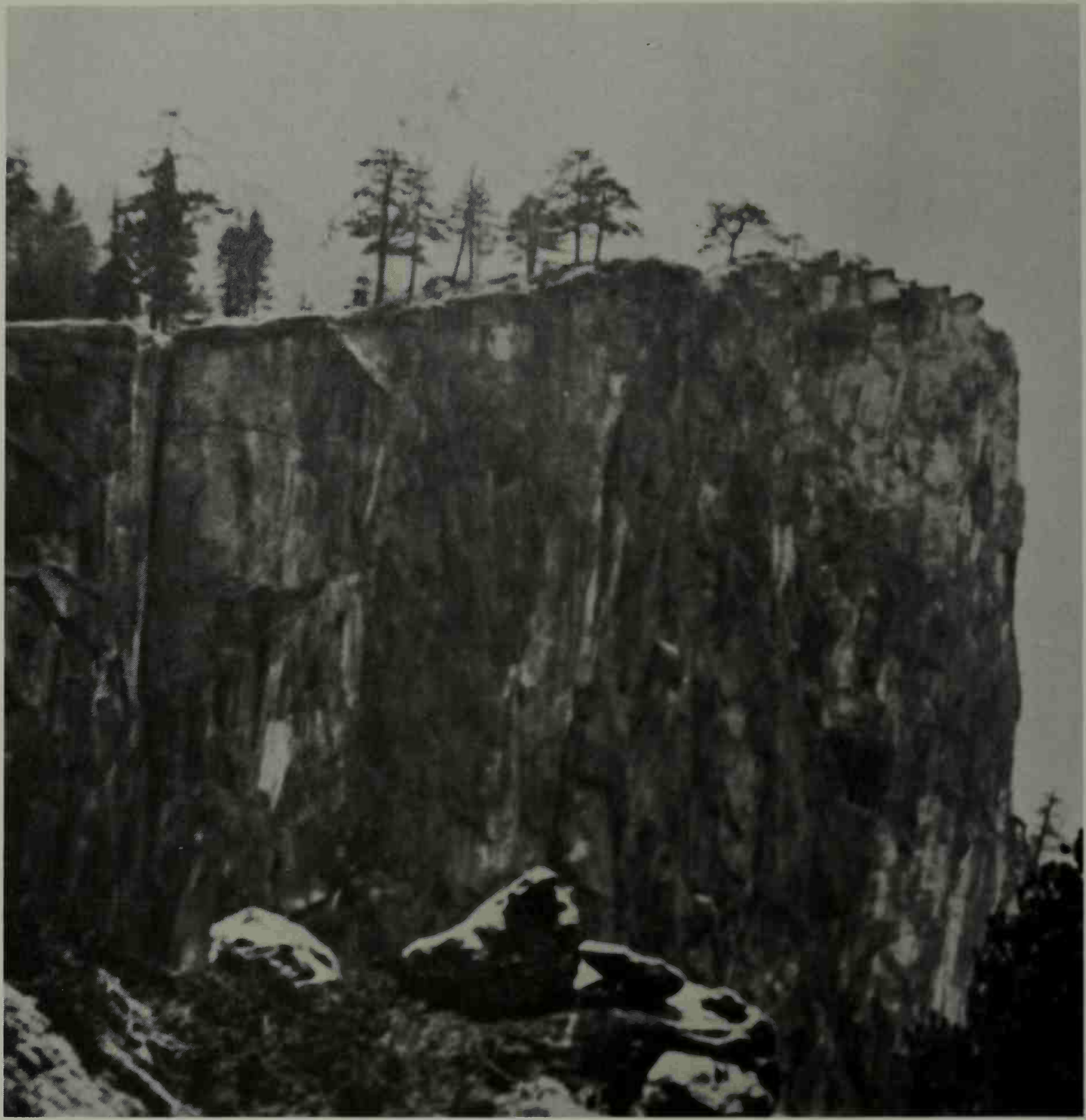
Untitled: Liberty Cap and Nevada Fall, 1867
Illustrates natural conditions at the base of Liberty Cap prior to the rockfall of 1872.
5 ¾ x 7 ¾ print.
Courtesy of Richard Pitman, Oakland



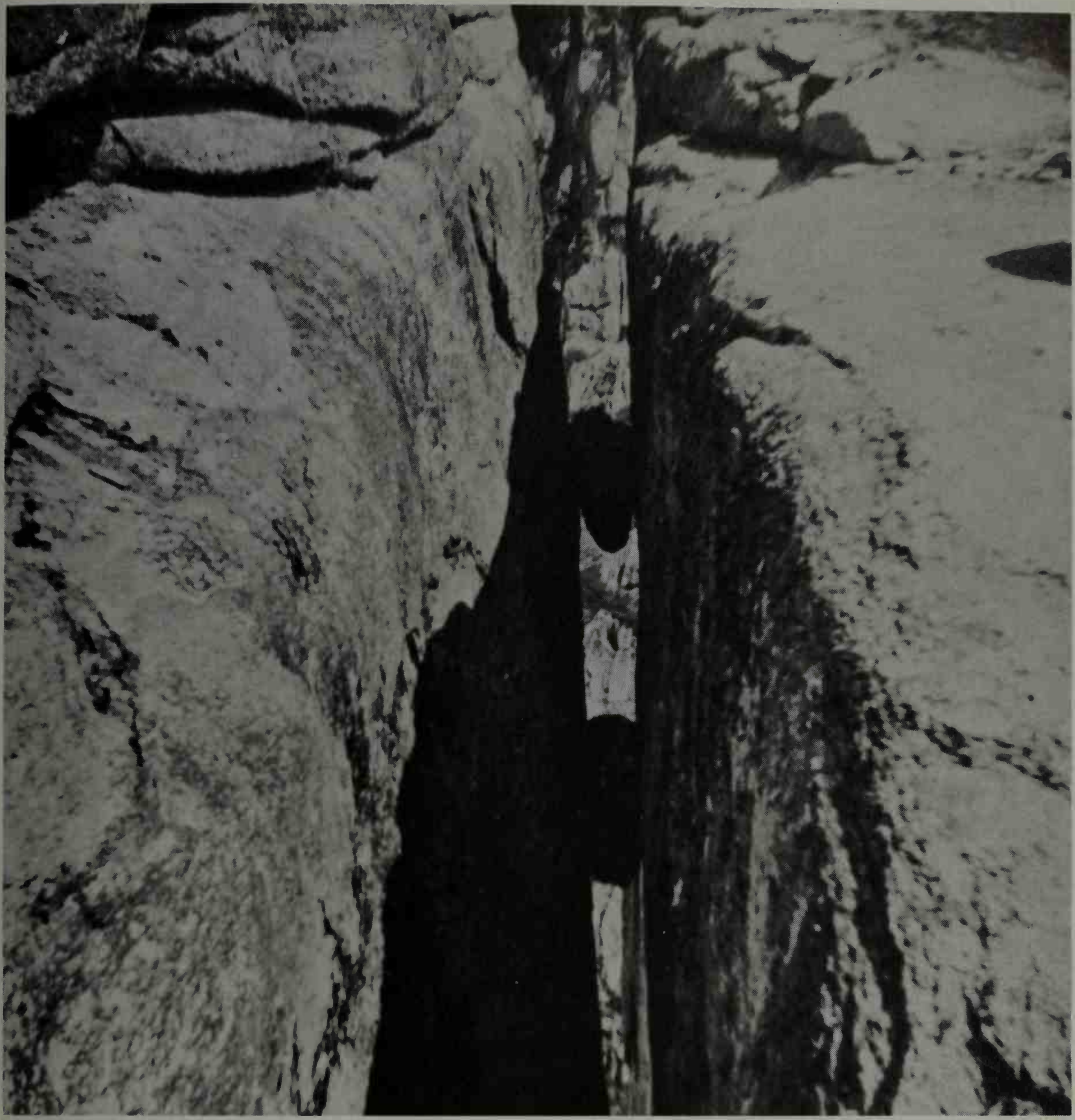
"The Flying Studio," 1867

Travelling dark-tent and developing equipment of a wet-plate photographer, taken at the close of "Helios'" first Yosemite trip.

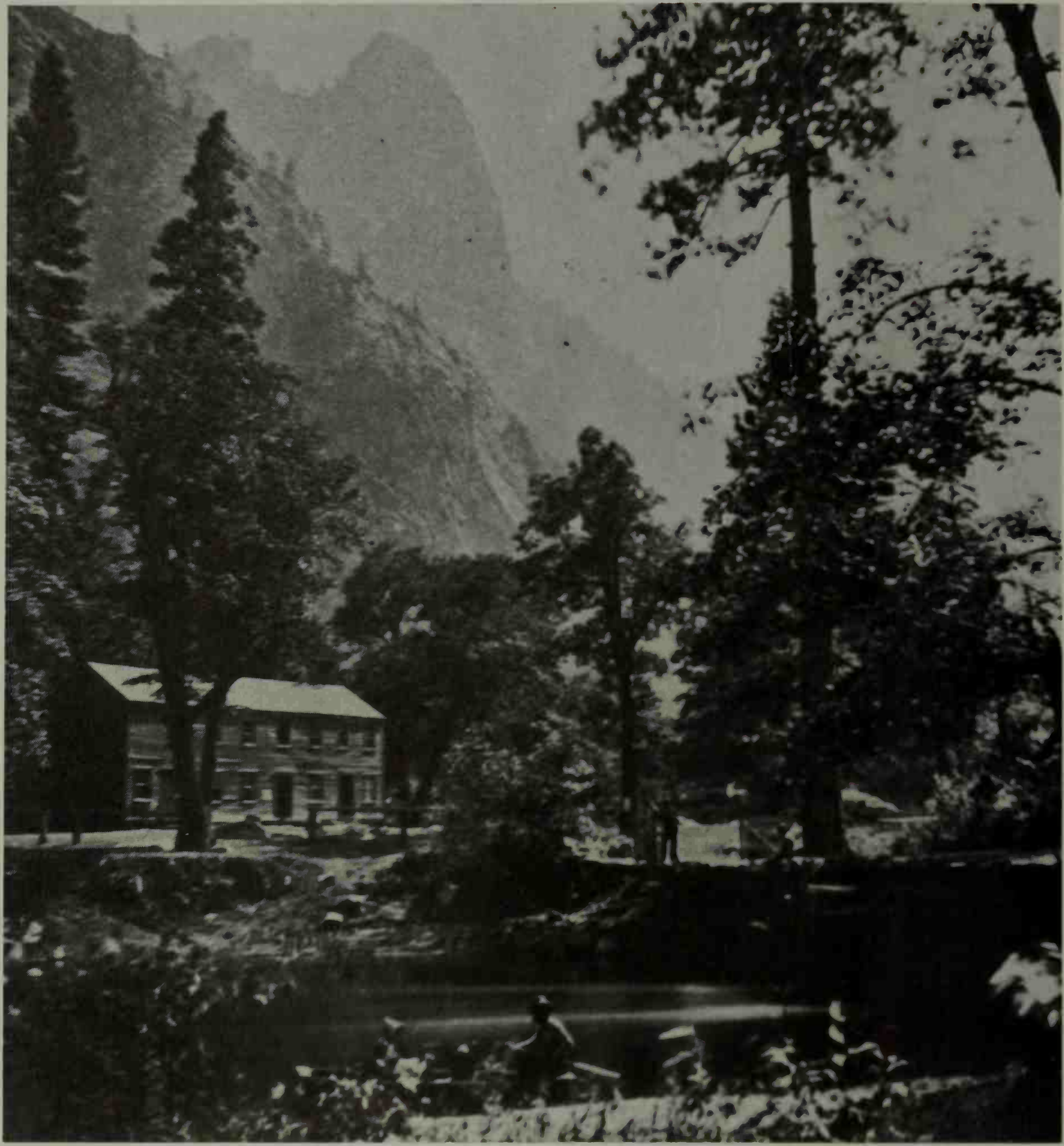
Courtesy of the San Francisco College for Women, San Francisco



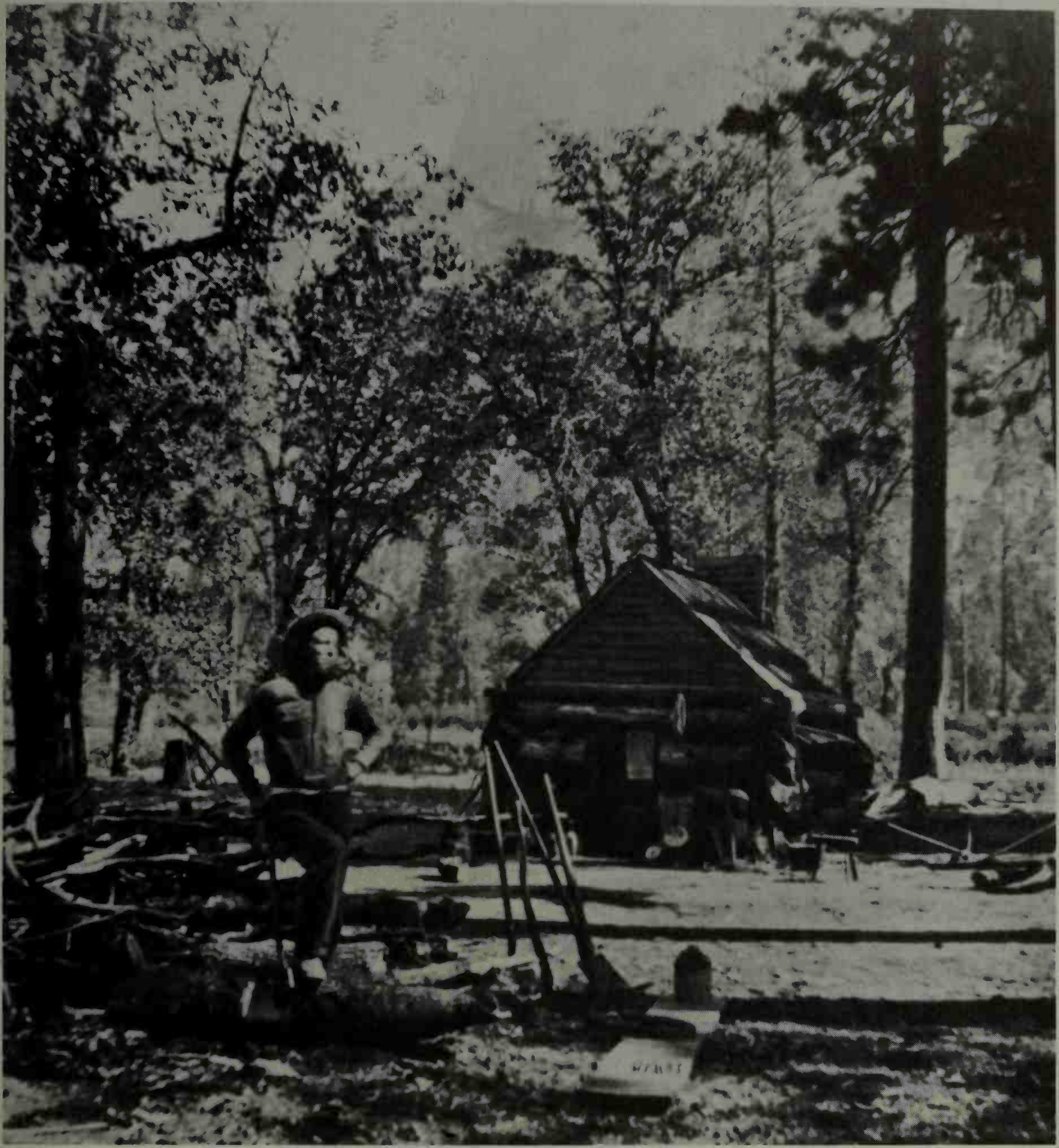
"PROFILE CLIFF, FISSURE IN EAGLE ROCK," 1867
The fissure appears to the left; Muybridge is credited by Hutchings with its discovery.
Stereograph No. 110 or 318.
Courtesy of the California Historical Society, San Francisco



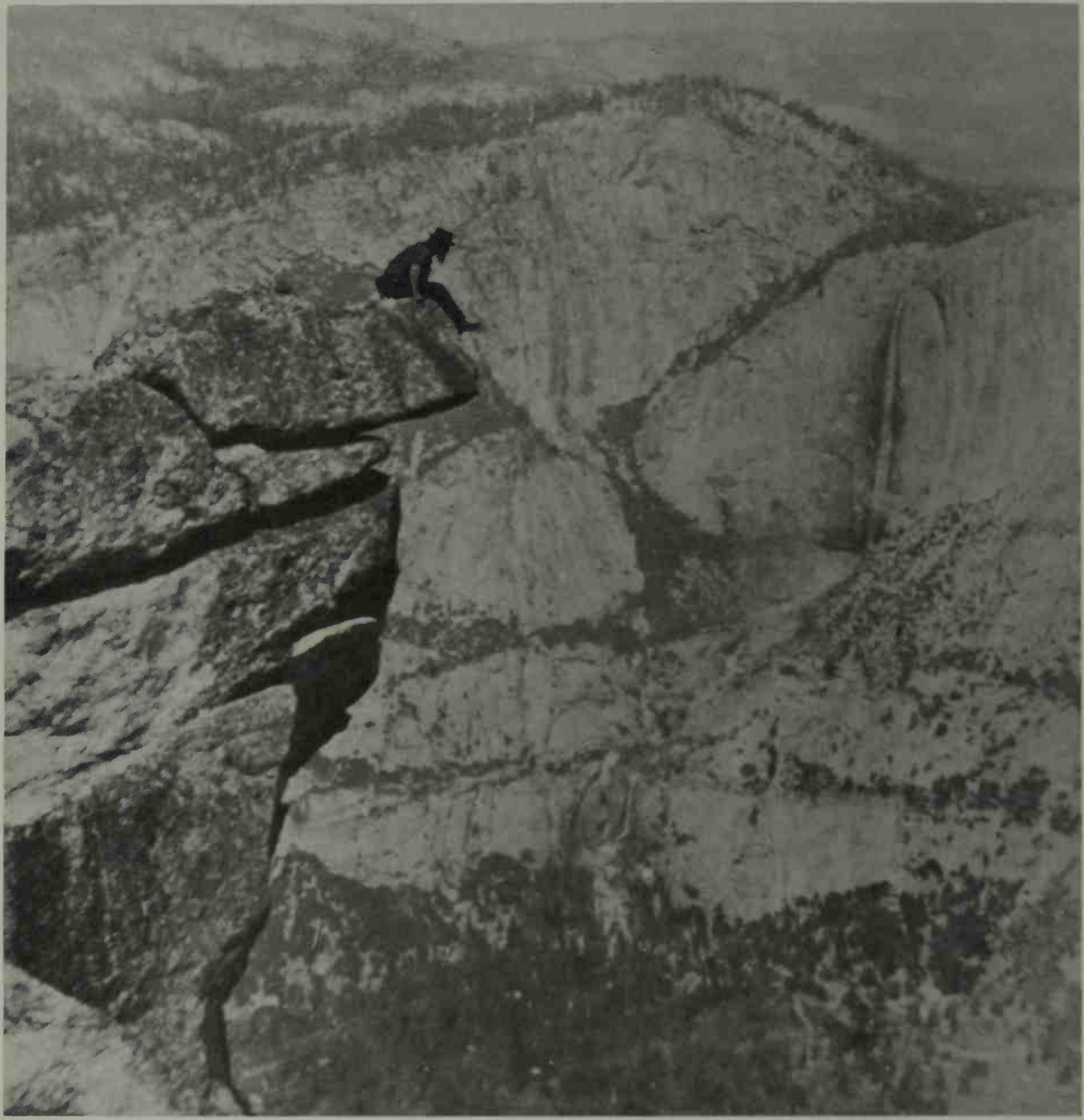
"FISSURE IN EAGLE ROCK 1100 FEET DEEP," 1867
The rocks lodged in the fissure remain today, an example of "dry" weathering.
Stereograph No. 112 or 320.
Courtesy of Bancroft Library, Berkeley



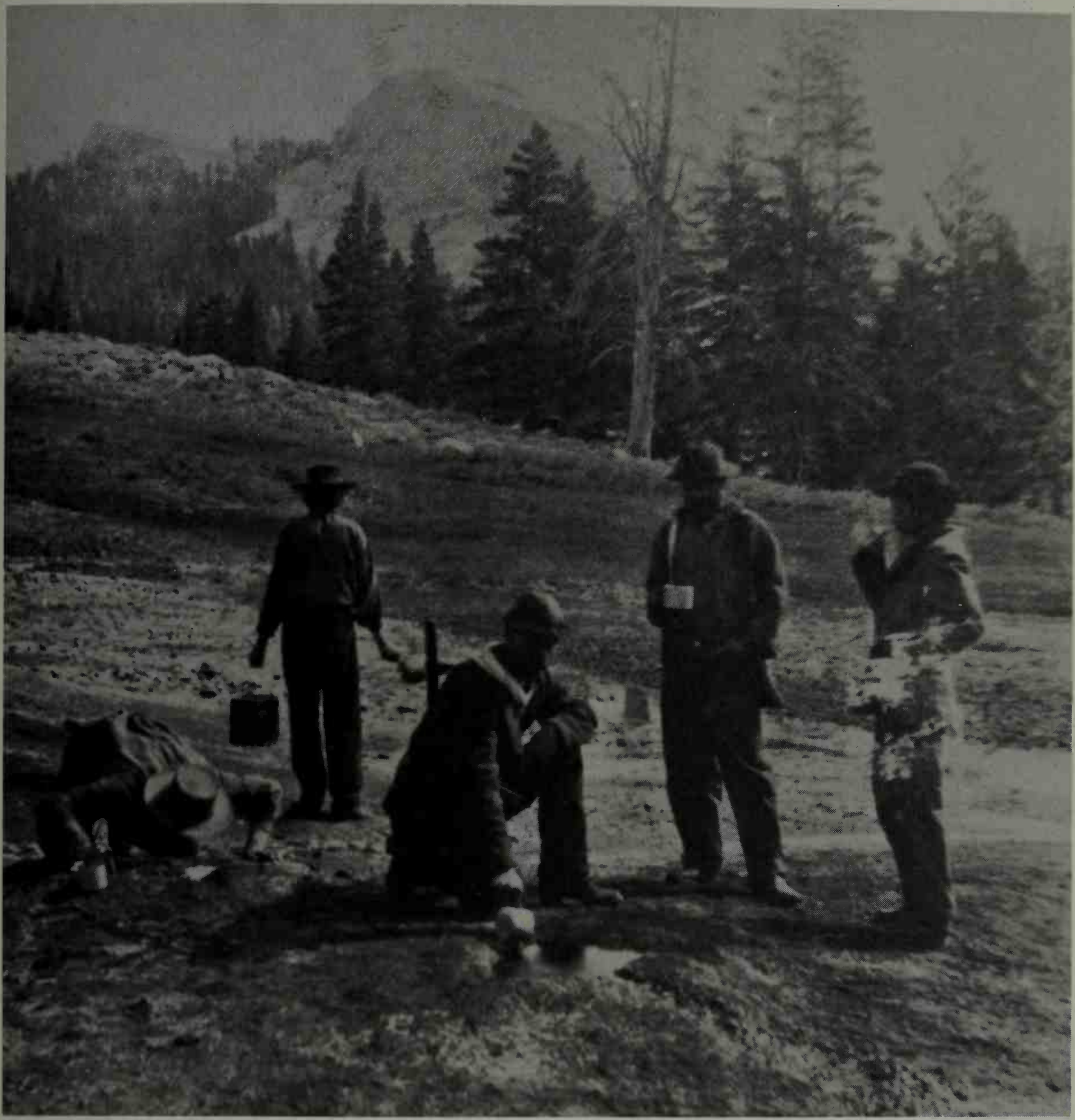
"THE YOSEMITE HOTEL," 1867
Also known as Hutchings' Hotel; the Hutchings family may be seen in the boat in the foreground.
Stereograph No. 59 or 261.
Courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento



UNTITLED: JAMES C. LAMON'S RANCH, 1867
The young orchard planted by Lamon, which still bears fruit today, may be discerned over his left shoulder.
Stereograph No. 65.
Courtesy of the San Francisco College for Women, San Francisco



"CONTEMPLATION ROCK, GLACIER ROCK," 1872
At the time of Muybridge's trial for murder, this picture was introduced by Rulofson to support the plea of insanity.
Muybridge was entirely exonerated.
Stereograph No. 1385.
Courtesy of the California Historical Society, San Francisco

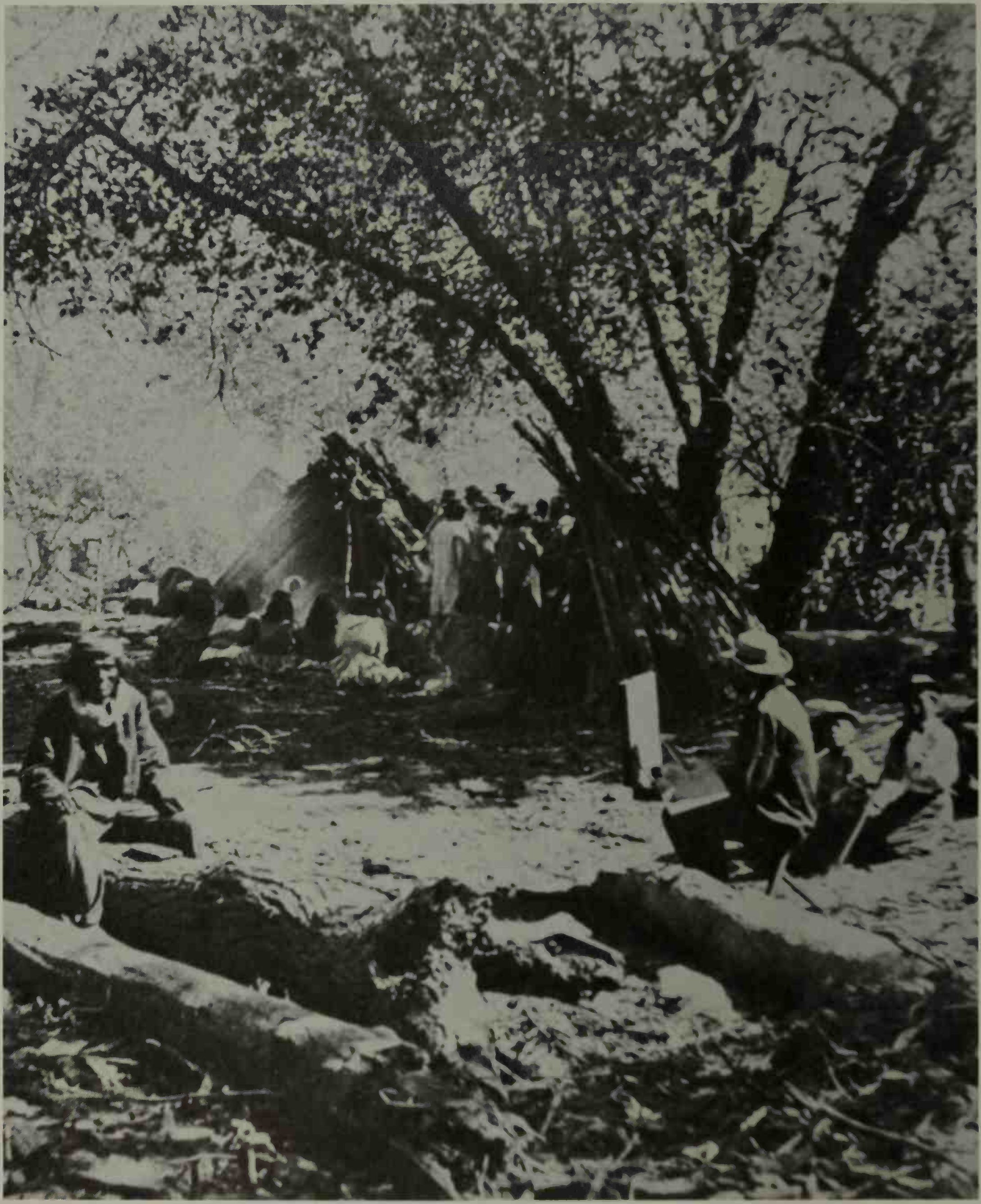


"Tuolumne Soda Springs, Sierra Nevada Mountains," 1872

Muybridge's party of photographic assistants and packers at the farthest point of his known Yosemite travels.

Stereograph No. 1534.

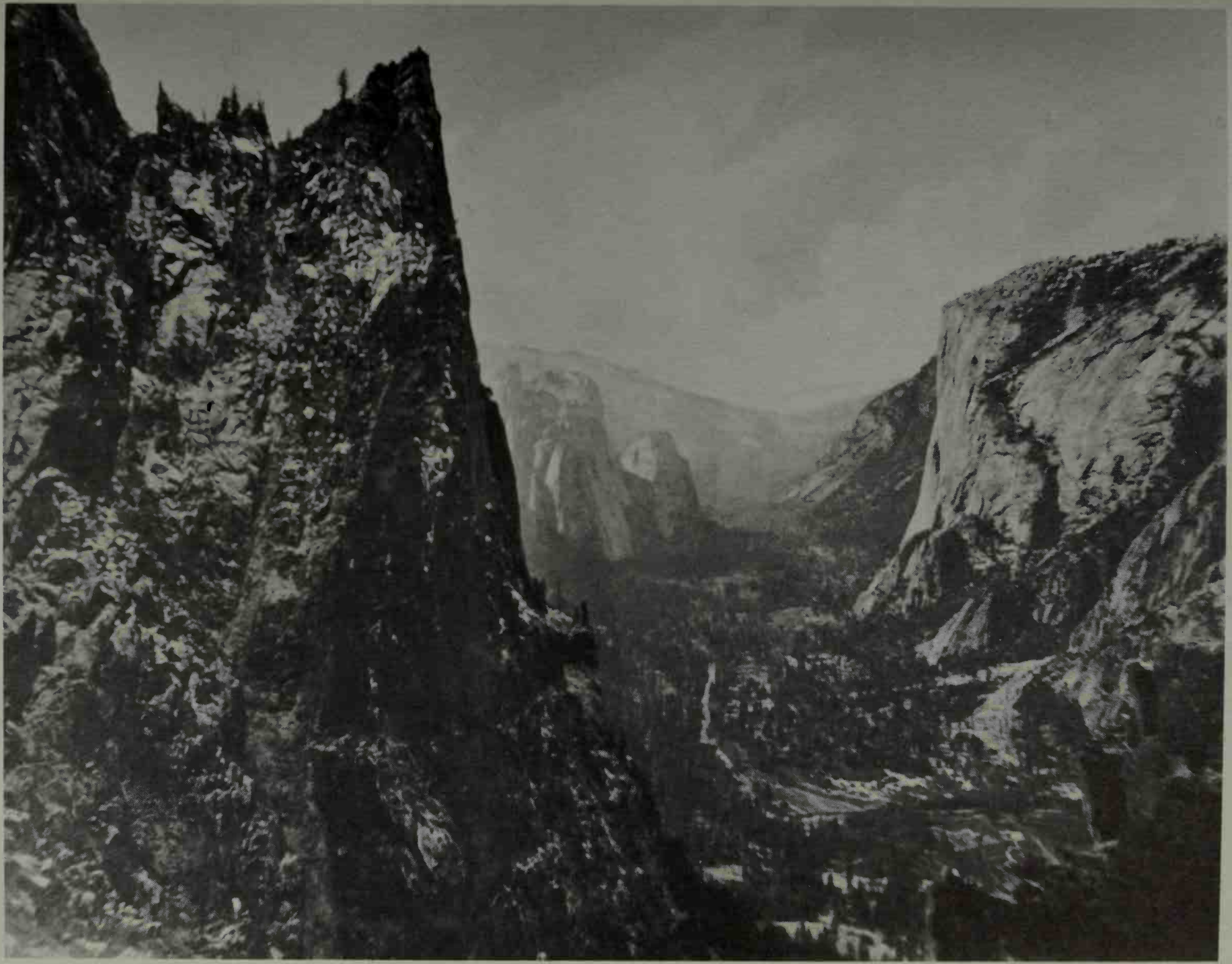
Courtesy of Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park



"ALBERT BIERSTADT'S STUDIO — THE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA," 1872
It is probable that the photographic series on California Indians and the Merced River views ("Yosemite Studies" No. 1408-1483) were taken, at Bierstadt's suggestion, for the use of studio painters.

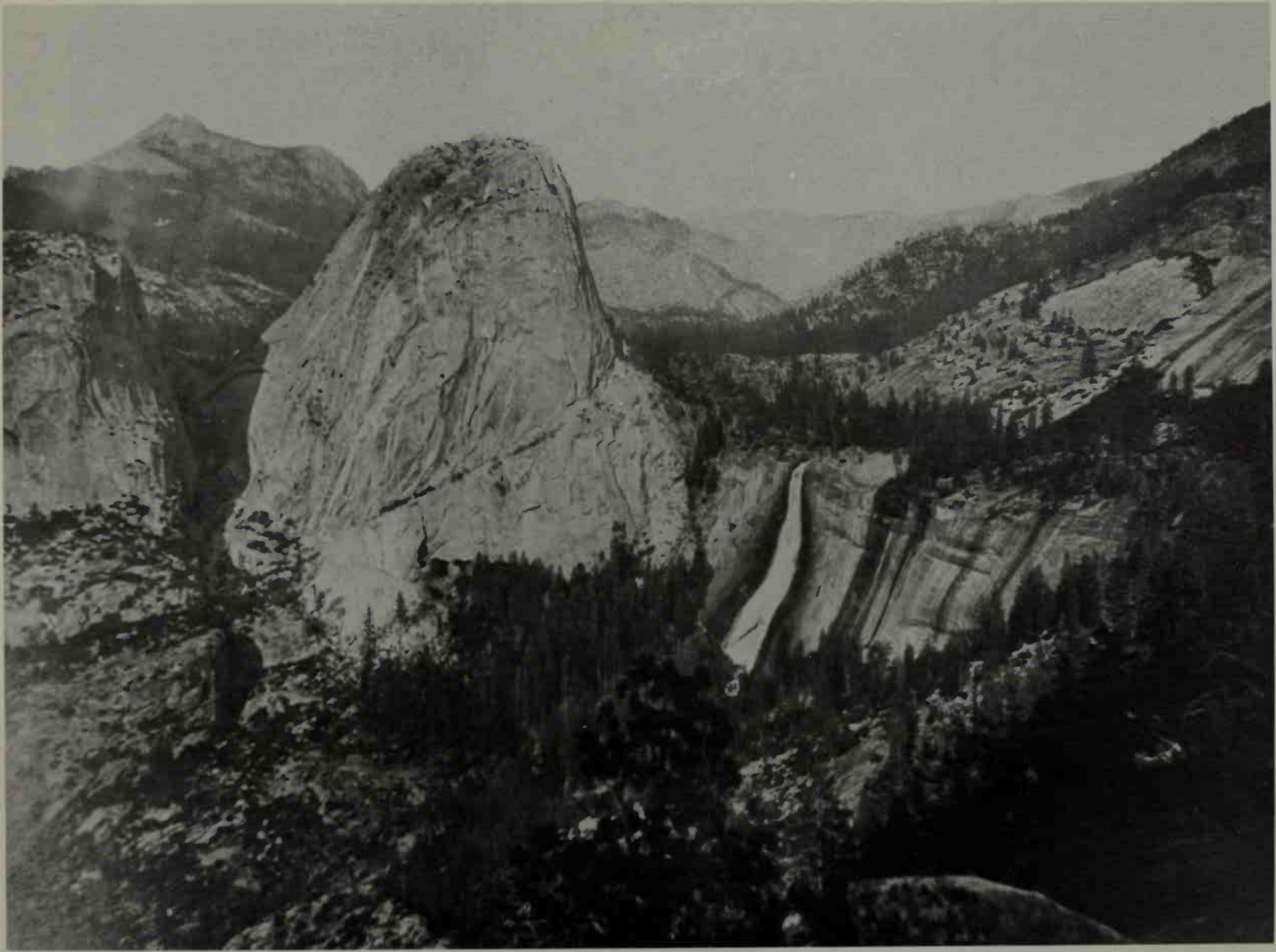
Stereograph No. 1587.

Courtesy of Richard Pitman, Oakland



"The Valley of the Yosemite from Union Point, No. 33," 1872
An excellent example of Muybridge's cloud-effects in the later series. The 1872-73 trail-building efforts of Yosemite hotel-keepers opened new vantage points for the energetic photographer.

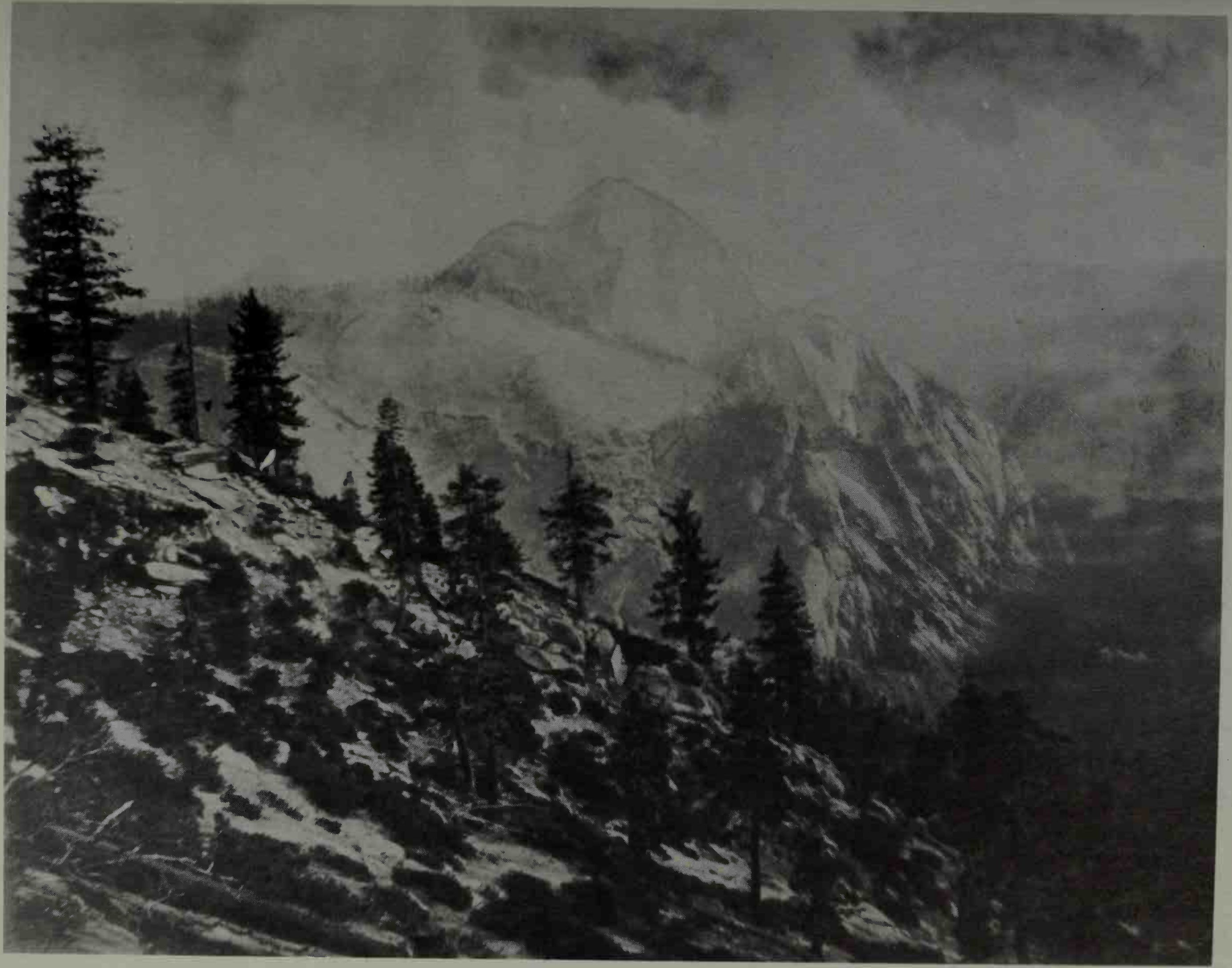
Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco



"CLOUD'S REST, VALLEY OF THE YOSEMITE, NO. 40," 1872

Illustrates the rockslide at the base of Liberty Cap, June 10, 1872. Muybridge and his friend George Towne registered at nearby Snow's Hotel as "photographic artists" on June 20, 1872. 17 x 21½ print.

Courtesy of the Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park



"TISAYACK, FROM MOUNT WAIYA
(PINE MOUNTAIN)
HALF-DOME, NO. 43," 1872
A dramatic atmospheric study
taken from the highly
inaccessible shoulder of Mount
Watkins – which Muybridge
usually preferred to refer to
by its old Indian name.
17 x 21½ print.
*Courtesy of Yosemite Museum,
Yosemite National Park*

EADWEARD J. MUYBRIDGE, 1897
Taken at the height of his fame
as a photographer of human
and animal locomotion,
August 1897. 5 x 7 print.
Courtesy of the
Bancroft Library, Berkeley

> my works, or with me personally, it will be merely necessary for me to refer to the numerous smaller photographs of my execution as an earnest of what may be expected as the result of my anticipated labors, and to remark that I have now an outfit of lenses and apparatus superior to any other in the United States....
>
> The size of my proposed negatives will be 20 x 24 inches, and the prints about 18 x 22, of which subscribers for each *one hundred dollars* subscribed will be entitled to select FORTY from the whole series, to be printed and mounted upon India tinted boards, in every respect similar to my smaller ones. It is scarcely necessary to say in consequence of the great expense attending this production they will not be sold at this price excepting to subscribers.
>
> The most gratifying evidence I can offer of the favor with which my proposition has been received, is to subjoin the names of a few subscribers, well known for their taste, and their appreciation of art studies:
>
> Wm. Alvord
> Edward Bosqui
> W. L. Marple
> B. P. Avery
> A. S. Hallidie
> Ford H. Rogers
> J. B. Wandesforde
> F. Whymper
>
> The President, Vice President and Directors of the San Francisco Art Association:
>
> A. Bierstadt
> Charles C. Nahl
> Sam'l Walker
> Jno. M. Tracy
> Arthur Lemon
> Norton Bush
> S. M. Brookes
> Alex. Edouart
> Bradley & Rulofson
> I. W. Taber
> Augustus Laver
> J. A. W. Lundborg
> D. Jordan
> Geo. Clifford
> E. B. Crocker
> A. Hayward
> Jas. R. Bolton
> E. Grisar
> L. Maynard
> Tiburcio Parrott
> Wm. Norris
> Oliver Eldridge
> Thos. Bell
> Jos. G. Eastland
> James Otis
> Jno. O. Earle
> G. W. Spencer
> R. Weill
> D. O. Mills
> Camilo Martin
> A. Gansl
> J. A. Donohoe
> Jeffrey Cullen
> H. Barroilhet
> H. L. Davis
> Alpheus Bull
> R. H. Magill
> T. B. Lewis
> Henry Baker
> David B. Blair
> Jas. L. Fields
> H. L. Breed
> Newton Booth
> H. H. Haight
> Jno. T. Doyle
> C. H. Sawyer
> A. D. Splivalo
> Wm. Harney
> R. H. Stretch
> Jno. T. Best
> R. H. Lloyd
> Thos. Bennett
> R. Beverly Cole
> R. Balfour
> Grant I. Taggart
> R. Hochkofler
>
> ... Receive the assurance that all my energies shall be directed towards rendering this proposed series the most acceptable photographic publication ever issued in the United States, with the object of attracting attention to the magnificent scenery of our own State and Coast in a manner worthy of the theme.[20]

Muybridge's original copy of this prospectus is still in existence and carries in his own handwriting the names of a hundred or so additional subscribers—including the Union Club, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. The project was handsomely endorsed.

Thus, for several months he devoted himself to the work of obtaining his second Yosemite negatives, sparing no pains to get views from points calculated to produce the most splendid pictures. San Francisco papers began to build up the legend of his exploits: "he has waited several days in a neighborhood to get the proper conditions of atmosphere for some of his views; he has cut down trees by the score that interfered with the cameras from the best point of sight; he had himself lowered by ropes down precipices to establish his instruments in places where the full beauty of the object to be photographed could be transferred to the negative; he has gone to points where his packers refused to follow him, and he has carried the apparatus himself rather than to forego the picture on which he has set his mind."[21]

Pictures taken between the months of June and November were arranged in a natural order, beginning again from Moonlight Rock:

I. Bridal Veil Meadow Area—from Moonlight Rock to El Capitan Meadow
II. El Capitan Meadow Area—from El Capitan to Sentinel Rock (1872: expanded coverage, Merced River Views)
III. Sentinel Meadow Area—from Sentinel Rock to Yosemite Fall
IV. Stoneman Meadow Area—from the Meadow to Mirror Lake
V. Canyon of the Merced Area—from Happy Isles to the top of Nevada Fall
VI. Rim of the Valley Area and High Country—from Panorama Cliff to Inspiration Point (1872: no photographs at Inspiration Point, but first coverage of Four Mile Trail, Union Point, Cloud's Rest, Mt. Watkins, and top of Upper Yosemite Fall)
VII. High Country Area.

These seven areas yielded forty-five 17 x 21 Yosemite views, thirty-six 5½ x 8½ views, three hundred and seventy-nine stereos. In addition, the following views were taken in the high country: five 17 x 21; four 5½ x 8½; thirty-six stereos. It is clear that Muybridge photographed much more heavily on this second trip to the valley, concentrating for the first time on Little Yosemite, expanding his coverage of the rim of the valley, and moving on into the high country for his most unique venture. Into the latter areas, it appears, he carried three sizes of cameras.

Muybridge's Special Effects (1867-1872)

Mention was made earlier of the special subjects and special effects which characterize Muybridge's work. A study of the stereos reveals his predilections for each year:

	1867	1872
I. *Impressionistic Effects*		
Moonlight	none	5
Mist	2	none
Rainbows	3	4
Reflections	4	12
River Studies	no series	48
Rock Studies	3	1
Clouds	wide use	wide use
II. *People, Sites, and "Improvements"*		
Self Portraits	1	1
People	1 (Unnumbered)	2 (No. 1506, 1509)
Indian Studies	1	11
Sites	6 (No. 21, 31, 59, 61, 65, 114)	2 (No. 1311,1508)

The three categories in which he showed increasing interest are: (1) Moonlight—an "instantaneous" effect provided by means of deliberate under-exposure; (2) Indians—a rather casual series, except for stereo No. 1587 showing Albert Bierstadt painting; and (3) River Views—an extensive series of landscape miniatures apparently taken for the use of studio painters at Bierstadt's suggestion.[22]

Of the 1872 stereos, the special effects are the ones on which he lavished the most care; the poor quality of some in the 1872 series suggests that he may, indeed, have turned much of this work over to his companion, George Towne.

Most of his attention went into the production of the superb large plate views. The 17 x 21's are extremely impressive—vastly different in effect from the 1867 photographs, softer, lighter, yet showing more depth and more detail. These magnificent landscape compositions stand alone, as the peak of Muybridge's Yosemite contribution.

On his way out of the valley, Muybridge stopped at the Mariposa Grove of Mammoth Trees where he took twenty-five stereos, seven 5½ x 8½'s, and one 17 x 21 picture of the tree "Wm. H. Seward."[23]

An apparently unique, unlabelled print in the Bancroft collection shows Muybridge himself. Sitting on a Houseworth plate-box, at the base of the Grant Tree, is the exhausted and tattered man whose productive months in the practice of his craft under the most primitive conditions were to earn him a triumph.

Now Bradley and Rulofson rewarded him with the best production and distribution arrangements they could manage. They brought from the East a huge, new apparatus for printing and mounting the large-plate pictures. The nearly four hundred new stereos replaced those of the earlier trip on Bradley and Rulofson cards. Returns from "Scenery in the Yosemite Valley" netted Muybridge well over twenty thousand dollars.

The fact that Muybridge had announced his 1872 trip to the valley from Houseworth's but published his pictures through Bradley and Rulofson in 1873 confirms the suspicion that his gallery affiliations were somewhat opportunistic. First he left Selleck's, then Nahl's, then Houseworth's, spending less than two years with each. Bradley and Rulofson apparently took him away from Houseworth's, for discontent and misunderstanding followed the move. Houseworth retaliated by placing in his display window a badly worn, poorly mounted print from "Scenery of the Yosemite Valley." It bore the Bradley and Rulofson imprint and was for sale. When Rulofson discovered Houseworth's trick, he promptly inserted the following notice in the newspaper:

> Messrs. Bradley and Rulofson are much obliged to Mr. Houseworth for giving their names a place in his window; but attaching them to an old, soiled print from a condemned negative of Muybridge's (neither print nor negative being made by them), shows to what a wretched straight the poor gentleman is driven in a fruitless effort to compete in business.[24]

Bradley and Rulofson were the leading photographic gallery and photographic supply house on the Pacific Coast. Their weekly payroll was over six hundred dollars, gold. Their enterprise was running the older men out of business. Houseworth, nettled and feeling the pinch, was stung into replying:

> Thomas Houseworth and Co.—To the public in general, and a reply to the card of Bradley and Rulofson—The Yosemite View exhibited by us in our window is one of a set of forty furnished to a subscriber by Bradley and Rulofson for the sum of $100 and bears their name as the publishers. The View is a fair sample

> of the lot which was sold to me at a heavy discount on the cost and is now in the same condition as when received by the original purchaser. We would further remark that we had tried to purchase from these gentlemen some of their views and they positively refused to sell us, for reasons which we leave others to judge.

Hoping to keep the pot at boil for the amusement of their readers, the editors of the paper now asked Muybridge for his comments. His answer was typically Olympian:

> Aesop in one of his fables related that a miserable little ass, stung with envy at the proud position the lion occupied in the estimation of the forest residents, seized some shadowy pretext of following and braying after him with the object of annoying and insulting him. The lion turning his head and observing from what a despicable source the noise proceeded, silently pursued his way, intent upon his own business, without honoring the ass with the slightest motion. Silence and contempt, says Aesop, are the best acknowledgements for the insults of those whom we despise.

The Yosemite pictures of 1872 earned Muybridge a world-wide fame —the Vienna Medal of 1874, laudatory comment from Dr. Vogel of Berlin, and further commissions from the War Department, the railroads, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

Newspaper reviewers now recommended that Muybridge's pictures should be taken as the subjects for oil paintings of the Yosemite, and predicted "they probably will be by Mr. Bierstadt."[25]

FINALE

In the early spring of 1873 Muybridge made a second attempt to photograph Stanford's racehorse Occident. For this event he devised a fast shutter, used new chemicals for faster emulsions, and for greater contrast had the racetrack at Sacramento spread with every white bed sheet Stanford could commandeer. This time the result was a perfect likeness of the celebrated horse. Muybridge calculated his exposure time at 1/500th of a second, the most nearly instantaneous photograph taken to that time. The picture was privately circulated by Stanford "who wanted his friends abroad," the *Alta* reported, "to participate with him in contemplation of the trotter in action." Four years later, with Stanford's encouragement and patronage, Muybridge was to give up landscape photography for good and devote himself for the rest of his life to the gigantic project of recording every aspect of motion in man and animal, until at last the whole world knew about "the pictures that moved."

Helio's advertisements began to carry the expanded statement which indicated his growing interest in motion:

> Having the most complete outfit of photographic apparatus and lenses in the United States, we are prepared to execute every description of open air photography: Ranchos, Engineering Works, Machinery, Animals in repose or in motion; Interiors, Underground Views, Reproductions of Paintings, Architects' and Engineers' Plans, Documents, etc., etc. . . .[26]

Between the years 1873 and 1875 Muybridge became involved in the most tragic episode of his career. After his return from photographing the Modoc War (1873), he was made aware of his wife's infidelity. After the birth of a son, he was led to believe the child was not his own. In the fall of 1874 he sought out Flora's lover, Harry Larkyns (a British adventurer who had found his way to California), and shot him to death at the Yellow Jacket Mine near Calistoga. Muybridge spent several months in the Napa jail but was totally exonerated through the efforts of the brilliant young lawyer, Wirt W. Pendegast. After the trial he left immediately for Central America where he photographed extensively for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. He returned only after the death of his wife in 1875 and assumed full responsibility for the care of the son until the boy reached maturity.

Three landscape series which concluded his project of documenting the Far West were "The Modoc War," published by Bradley and Rulofson, "Photographs of Central America," and "The Panorama of San Francisco," published by Morse's Gallery, 417 Montgomery Street.

The Yosemite pictures, which are the particular concern of this article, thus stand as a heroic monument to Muybridge's most lyrical period as a landscape photographer.

After the laborious process of compiling a check-list of Muybridge's several hundred stereographs had nearly been completed by the present authors, the treasure-trove of the San Francisco College of Women's Muybridge albums and stereograph collection was graciously made available, and this provided an invaluable expansion of the original check-list.[27]

Even more recently, the Bancroft Library has acquired a definitive printed *Catalogue of Photographic Views by Muybridge*, published by Bradley and Rulofson in 1873. The prefatory note summarizes Bradley and Rulofson's opinion of their outdoor photographer:

In every department we avail ourselves of the assistance of the most accomplished artists and most skillful operatives. For many years the work issued from our establishment has been unapproached in this city and has enjoyed a most flattering comparison with that of the most celebrated galleries of the Eastern States and of Europe.

We have recently effected arrangements for the publication of the remarkable series of Photographic Views illustrating the Far West by

MUYBRIDGE

To most persons in California the name of this artist is as familiar as those of the majestic scenes he illustrates. The careful execution and surpassing excellence of his work has occasioned his being employed during several years by the U. S. Government in the production of the numerous views upon this coast, required by the Treasury and War Departments:

For judicious selection of subject, artistic treatment, and skillful manipulation, he is unrivaled in America, and the exquisite views produced by him of the sublime and beautiful scenery of the Pacific States, are marvelous examples of the perfection to which open air photography has attained.

The list of subscribers for his recent magnificent series of Yosemite Photographs includes the names of every prominent artist and nearly all the principal citizens and patrons of art in California. The amount of the subscription list, exceeding twenty thousand dollars, included one thousand dollars each from the Central and Union Pacific Railroad Companies, and five hundred dollars from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. A sufficient evidence of the estimation in which the works of this eminent artist are held, without a reprint of any American or European "opinions", and a result we think unprecedented in the history of Photographic publications.

Muybridge will be constantly making additions to his superb and comprehensive collection of negatives, which will be published by us as soon after their receipt as possible.

Among his projected trips this season for a series of views, 20 x 24 inches in size, is one along the line of the Transcontinental Railroad, and another to the Columbia River.

BRADLEY AND RULOFSON
429 Montgomery Street, S. F.

June, 1873

The table of contents for this fifty-three page catalogue reveals to us the whole scope and sequence of Muybridge's work, and the entry pages list each of his photographs by number, size, and under the titles Muybridge originally gave to them.

The discovery of this catalogue reminds us of Muybridge's tremendous labor and industry up to the year 1873, which, as we have seen, carried him from Alaska to Central America in less than a decade.

The story of his scientific work with motion, which preoccupied him at Sacramento from 1872 to 1873, at Palo Alto from 1877 to 1881, at the University of Pennsylvania from 1883 to 1892, and as a lecturer and writer until his death at Kingston-Upon-Thames in 1904, is being completely explored by the present authors, but already his great legacy of landscape photography and its significance for the documentation of the Western scene is fortunately on the point of being rediscovered.

NOTES

1. The 1872 Yosemite photographs by Muybridge to reach the market are listed in Bradley and Rulofson's *Catalogue of Photographic Views by Muybridge*, 1873, as follows: stereos (No. 1131-1509); 5½ x 8½'s (No. 4173-4208); 17 x 21's (No. 1-50).

2. The 1867 Yosemite photographs by Muybridge are listed in the *Catalogue* as follows: stereos (none); 5½ x 8½ (No. 4001-4072); 17 x 21's (none). Why the 1867 stereos were not listed is conjectural. Perhaps Muybridge sold the plates to Houseworth or to an Eastern publisher; perhaps Bradley and Rulofson did not wish to reissue further stereos from worn plates. The San Francisco College for Women owns albums in which the 1867 stereos are hand-numbered No. 1-114. A reissue utilizes numbers in the 200 series (ex: No. 4 is 207; No. 6 is 209, etc.); Bancroft Library owns stereos which are double numbered by hand (ex: No. 46/248). Of the thirty-five 5½ x 8½ photographs listed in the *Catalogue*, only twenty-five are known to the authors. Nineteen appear in the Hittell book, *Yosemite: its wonders and its beauties* (San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft and Company, 1868), numbered I-XIX and greatly reduced in size. Five additional photographs, unnumbered and untitled, appear in an album of fourteen prints in the Pitman Collection; the other eight duplicate the Hittell photos.

3. The photographic work on which this article is based was done by A. William Hood. Early Yosemite pictures discovered were copied on 35 mm. film. Mary V. Hood has filed 4 x 5 prints made from these photocopy negatives and has thus assembled a photographic catalogue telling where any given original may be found. This method is superior to cataloguing based on titles alone, which can rarely be definitive.

4. This little known variant of Muybridge's name appears as an imprint in books sold by him at his San Francisco bookstore.

5. Thomas S. Muggeridge was listed in the San Francisco directory for 1860 and 1861 as "Thos S. Muygridge." Presumably the bookstore was given up after this.

6. A description of this journey may be found in *Hutching's California Magazine* as follows: Vol. IV (1859), Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 11.

7. For an account of Weed's contributions see Mary V. Hood, "Charles L. Weed, Yosemite's First Photographer," in *Yosemite Nature Notes,* Vol. XXXVIII (1959), No. 6.

8. For an account of Watkins' contributions see J. W. Johnson, "Early Pacific Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins," *University of California Water Resources Center Archive Series,* No. 8 (1960). See also, Ralph H. Anderson, "Carleton E. Watkins, Pioneer Photographer of the Pacific Coast," in *Yosemite Nature Notes,* Vol. XXXII (1953), No. 4.

9. For an account of Harris' 1867 contribution see J. D. Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 1868.

10. Muybridge's 1867 photographs of the Calaveras Big Trees are listed in the *Catalogue* as follows: stereos (none); 5½ x 8½ (No. 4073-4079); 17 x 21 (none).

11. Compare, for example, stereos No. 56 and 57, San Francisco College for Women, photocopied at Bancroft.

12. Hutching's statement appears only in the 1871 edition of his book, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (New York and San Francisco, A. Roman and Company, 1871), p. 143. His dating of the discovery as 1868 is certainly one year late and corresponds to the publication date of the pictures rather than the date taken.

13. Muybridge's personal copy of this brochure, dated February, 1868, and issued from 415 Montgomery Street, may be found in his *Scrapbook,* Central Library, Kingston-Upon-Thames.

14. San Francisco *Bulletin,* Feb. 12, 1868.

15. San Francisco *Call,* Feb. 17, 1868.

16. E. J. Muybridge to the Director of the Mercantile Library, San Francisco, May 14, 1868, in the collection of the California Historical Society and reproduced in the *Notes,* Vol. IV (1852), No. 3.

17. Modern photographic critics who deplore the introduction of such contrived effects are often unaware that the early film was incapable of producing both distant and foreground effects on one negative. Muybridge's intention was obviously not to trick but to heighten both the reality and the drama of his work through the careful use of technical skills at his disposal.

18. H. W. Halleck to E. J. Muybridge, October 13, 1868. This is the first appearance in print of the Halleck letter which is in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. (Courtesy Mrs. Ronald MacDonald.)

19. Helen Hunt (Jackson), *Bits of Travel at Home* (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1878), pp. 85 and 86. The valley encounter does not appear in the book, only in the newspaper account of the trip.

20. *Scrapbook,* Central Library, Kingston-Upon-Thames.

21. *Alta California,* April 7, 1872.

22. Albert Bierstadt, the painter, made several trips to California and the valley. Both he and his brother, Charles (a photographer), realized the value of photographs to studio painters. Two stereographs show Albert Bierstadt was with

Muybridge in the valley in 1872. From the *Alta California* April 7, 1872, we read: "At the suggestion of Mr. Clarence King, the artist [Muybridge] has made several pictures of the ancient glacier channel at Lake Tenaya, and other glacial indications."

23. Muybridge's 1872 Mariposa Grove photographs are listed in the *Catalogue* as follows: stereos (No. 1546-1570); 5½ x 8½ (No. 4212-4218); 17 x 21's (No. 51).

24. *Scrapbook*, p. 9, Central Library, Kingston-Upon-Thames.

25. *Alta California*, April 7, 1872. In this article we learn that Mr. Bierstadt "made several suggestions to Mr. Muybridge, while in the Valley, and . . . is, in fact, a patron and adviser."

26. . . . "Animals in repose or in motion" . . . appears as a part of a special Note in the 1873 *Catalogue* and directly reflects Muybridge's 1872 and 1873 attempts to photograph Leland Stanford's Occident while in rapid motion.

27. Through the courtesy of the Rev. Mother Mejía, the Bancroft Library has been allowed to photograph the Muybridge holdings of the San Francisco College for Women. The original materials are restricted to the use of students at the San Francisco College, but the photocopies will now be available to serious researchers through the Bancroft Library.

Progress and Poverty—a Paradox

By KENNETH M. JOHNSON

HENRY GEORGE intended the title to his book to state a paradox; however an additional paradox has developed. This is the fact that in none of the lists of important California books has the title appeared. One of the earliest and best known selective listing of California books is Phil Townsend Hanna's *Libros Californianos;* this was first published in 1931 and was reissued with additions in 1958. In neither edition is there any mention of *Progress and Poverty*. The same is true of *The Zamorano 80*, perhaps the most distinguished and critical listing of California books to date. The purpose of this article is to present the book rather than the author or his beliefs, and to indicate that *Progress and Poverty* is an interesting, valuable, and important part of Californiana as well as a statement of economic theories.

In the first place the book was written and printed in California by a Californian. In the library of his home at 417 First Street, San Francisco, Henry George, who had first come to California in 1858, began his book on September 18, 1877.[1] It was a culmination of years of economic study and observation, particularly of the California scene in the 1870's.

The eighteen-seventies are certainly one of the most interesting periods in the history of our state as well as of our country. They were years of strife, stress, and strain on the labor and political fronts; on the economic side there were panics and depressions. The Tweed Ring and Tammany Hall were at their strongest; corruption in high places was the expected thing. Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Morgan, and Carnegie were laying the foundation of their fortunes. In California, it was the

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time of the rise of the Workingmen's Party, Dennis Kearney, and the peak of the anti-Chinese hysteria. It was a period of contrasts: millionaires were being created from the outpouring of silver from the Comstock Lode, and millions were being lost through uncontrolled gambling in Comstock shares. Mansions were being built on Nob Hill, but there was extensive unemployment. The Bank of California failed. Everyone knew that the Central-Southern Pacific group completely controlled state politics, but few knew that the *Colton Letters* were being written and would later show the same group buying and selling the members of Congress. Land was held by a few groups in tremendous acreage. The Central-Southern Pacific combination held over eleven million five hundred thousand acres.[2] California was forming a new constitution. The period in California has well been called the "Discontented Seventies." This then was the background against which George was writing.[3]

Writing proceeded slowly: each paragraph was discussed with a small coterie of friends. Among these were William Hinton, printer and publisher, John Swett, best known as the founder of San Francisco's school system, A. S. Hallidie of the cable cars, and Dr. Edward Robeson Taylor. Dr. Taylor appears to have been the closest to George and probably participated to a greater extent than anyone else. If anyone ever deserved the title of a Renaissance man it was Dr. Taylor: he was successfully a printer, poet, doctor of medicine, lawyer, mayor of San Francisco, and dean of the Hastings College of Law for many years. This group worked together to the end that every thought was crystal clear and stated in a simple direct manner so that anyone who could read could understand. The work was finished in the early part of March, 1879, a few days from the adjournment *sine die* of California's second constitutional convention.[4]

On March 22, 1879, the manuscript was sent to D. Appleton & Co. in New York; the reply was:

> We have read your MS. on political economy. It has the merit of being written with great clearness and force, but is very aggressive. There is very little to encourage the publication of any such work at this time and we feel we must decline it.[5]

At least at that time publishers were fairly forthright in their rejections. In turn both Harper's and Scribner's were approached; all declined. George then decided to print the work himself, and Hinton made his plant on Clay Street available. Type in part was actually set by George, Taylor, and Hinton. The work was commenced in May, 1879, and was completed in September. The biographers of George say five hundred copies were printed; Cowan in his Bibliography indicates that there were about two hundred copies; in any event the edition was quite small. Copies were sent to various publishers including Appleton & Co.; this led to a reply that Appleton would publish the book if given the original plates. The offer was accepted, and the first trade edition appeared in 1880.

After a slow start the book became a runaway best seller. It was serialized in *Lovell's Magazine*, a sort of *Saturday Evening Post* of its day. Translations both authorized and unauthorized began to appear. There have been German, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Bulgarian, Yiddish, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean editions. In 1960 the book was in print in English and eight foreign language editions.[6] The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation (organized to promote the economics of Henry George) has tried to estimate the total number of copies printed but without success, except to ascertain that the number is in the millions. Alice Hackett in her *Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 1895-1945* indicates sales in excess of three million.[7] *Progress and Poverty* entered the list of Random House's Modern Library in 1938 and has been selling regularly since.[8] In 1942 there was a printing by the Classics Club (a book subscription organization) with a Foreword by John Kieran. The book is number 81 in the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Influential American Books Before 1900.* One can count on the fingers of one hand the number of treatises on economics printed before 1880 which are in print today; certainly it may be said that *Progress and Poverty* has had a wider circulation and a broader influence than any similar work.

The next questions are why is it important and why has it lasted. In partial answer to both questions it should be pointed out that in the minds of many there are certain misconceptions as to the book's nature and contents. It is far more than an argument in support of George's theories on taxation: it is a pungently written and searching analysis of the economic difficulties of the times. The classical economists are challenged and specific remedies proposed. California is used as an example with particular reference to the large land holdings; however George goes further and considers the world as a whole and the histories of all times. The work is important because it represents original thinking and new approaches to old problems. However, its true importance is not the correctness or incorrectness of its theories, but the fact that it has led thousands to think about the economic facts of life and the problems of good government. In this book multitudes have met for the first time the terms capital, wages, rent, and interest in their economic sense; here other thousands for the first time have met the early stalwarts, Malthus, Mill, Riccardo, Quesnay, and Adam Smith. *Progress and Poverty* finds its real significance in the fact that it is a book which has provoked the minds of men.

The book has lasted because it is readable; it is a book that one can browse in. George was writing for the masses and not for the college professors. Apt and sometimes homely illustrations are freely used to drive home points. However, all of this leads the reader to the most serious and intricate problems of economics, politics, and to a limited extent law. Following are a few quotations from the book which suggest its style and method:

> There is a delusion resulting from the tendency to confound the accidental with the essential—a delusion which the law writers have done their best to extend, and political economists generally have acquiesced in, rather than endeavored to expose—that private property in land is necessary to the proper use of land, and that to make land common property would be to destroy civilization and revert to barbarism.
>
> This delusion may be likened to the idea which, according to Charles Lamb, so long prevailed among the Chinese after the savor of roast pork had been accidentally discovered by the burning down of Ho-ti's hut—that to cook a pig it was necessary to set fire to a house.[9]

* * * * * * *

> There is a lot in the center of San Francisco to which the common rights of the people of that city are yet legally recognized. This lot is not cut up into infinitesimal pieces nor yet is it an unused waste. It is covered with fine buildings, the property of private individuals, that stand there in perfect security. The only difference between this lot and those around it, is that the rent of one goes into the Common School Fund, the rent of the others into private pockets.[10]

* * * * * * *

> Taxes which lack the element of certainty tell most fearfully upon morals. Our revenue laws as a body might well be entitled, "Acts to promote the corruption

of public officials, to suppress honesty and encourage fraud, to set a premium upon perjury and the subornation of perjury, and divorce the idea of justice." This is their true character, and they succeed admirably.[11]

* * * * * * *

A corrupt democratic government must finally corrupt the people, and when a people become corrupt there is no resurrection. The life is gone, only the carcass remains; and it is left for the plowshares of fate to bury it out of sight.[12]

* * * * * * *

Political Economy has been called the dismal science, and as currently taught, *is* hopeless and despairing. But this, as we have seen, is solely because she has been degraded and shackled; her truths dislocated; her harmonies ignored; the word she would utter gagged in her mouth, and her protest against wrong turned into an indorsement of injustice. Freed, as I have tried to free her—in her own proper symmetry, Political Economy is radiant with hope.[13]

Some may urge that *Progress and Poverty* should not be included in any list of California books because it is neither descriptive nor historical. This is obvious; however it is only half true. The creation of the book and its contents subjectively reflect California of the seventies in a manner that pure description could never achieve. Also in a broad sense it is historical; it is a part and parcel of the times which has survived. Just as an old menu tells us what people were eating and the cost of living, *Progress and Poverty* tells why the seventies were called discontented.

The first edition is easily recognizable because it is the only one bearing the date 1879 on the title page and the only one showing Hinton as the printer. The book was originally bound in pebble grained cloth and has been noted in purple, brown, red, and blue colors. Two ornamental blind stamped bands run horizontally across the covers. Not all of the copies were bound at the printers. Certain of those sent to publishers were unbound, and this would appear to explain the fact that there are other bindings which appear to be original but depart from the binding described. The copies bound by Hinton have the words "Author's Edition" on the spine, and the other bindings seen have not had these words.

Except for a very few minor word changes, the first edition by Appleton was exactly the same as the author's edition. No change was made until the fourth edition when a preface written by George was added and a quotation preceding a chapter formerly credited to an

Old Play was given its true authorship, Edward R. Taylor. From this point on there were no revisions, although certain of the foreign printings were abbreviated.

If ever *The Zamorano 80* is supplemented (and life being what it is, it will be), *Progress and Poverty* can well be what it is in the Grolier list, number 81.

It seems fitting to close with a quotation from Dr. Taylor made shortly after George's death.

> When *Progress and Poverty* was in process, as upon its completion, it occurred to me that here was one of those books that every now and then spring forth to show what man can do when his noblest emotions combine with his highest mentality to produce something for the permanent betterment of our common humanity; that here was a burning message that would call the attention of men to the land question as it had never been called before; and that whether the message was embodied in an argument of irrefragability or not, it was yet one that would stir the hearts of millions.[14].

NOTES

1. Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (New York, 1900), p. 289. This work is by George's son; and, while it has the usual fault of a biography by a member of the family, it contains a lot of detail that otherwise would be lost.

2. Robinson, W. W., *Land in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948), p. 157.

3. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1926), p. 402 *et seq.* Cleland's treatment of this period of California history is the best noted.

4. George, Jr., *Life of Henry George*, p. 307.

5. George, Jr., *Life of Henry George*, p. 315.

6. Charles Albro Barker, *Henry George* (New York, 1955), pp. 319, 423, 531, 596, and 627; also letter to the writer from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. The work by Barker would appear to be the definitive biography of George: it is well written and objective.

7. Alice Payne Hackett, *Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 1895-1945* (New York, 1945), p. 124.

8. Letter to writer from Random House.

9. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (4th ed., New York, 1881), p. 357.

10. George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 359.

11. George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 374.

12. George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 479.

13. George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 503.

14. George, Jr., *Life of Henry George*, p. 308.

How the Overland Limited Came to the Southern Pacific

By Lucius Beebe

In the middle of the fall of 1887, October 15, according to the records of the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha, and a little more than eighteen years after that wet and windy day when the locomotives had faced each other at Promontory Point, Utah, and travel had been inaugurated across the single track of the Pacific Railroad, the management of Union Pacific placed in service on the transcontinental run between Council Bluffs and San Francisco a train with a name that was to become a household word throughout the West for the next six decades, *The Overland Flyer.*

Name trains were not in 1887 a commonplace, and the imaginative resources of railroad managements seldom got beyond *Flyer, Cannonball,* or *The Chicago-St. Louis Night Express.* When a general manager came up with something as dramatic as *The Fast Mail,* it was a triumph of promotional expertness; but the forgotten genius in Omaha who evolved the name of *The Overland Flyer*—it was to become *The Overland Limited* four or five years later when Limiteds were the fashionable thing—with unerring aim had scored a bullseye with a name of deep seated implications in the national awareness—a name fragrant with memories of the Old West which was even then vanishing and which had an immeasurable impact on the general consciousness. Overland was, then as it has been from that day to this, a word to flutter pulses in the American lexicon.

Lucius Beebe, a graduate of Harvard College, was for twenty-one years a member of the editorial staff of *The New York Herald Tribune* and is today employed by *The San Francisco Chronicle.* An authority on railroad history, he has written more than a dozen books in the field, and his latest work: *The Central Pacific & The Southern Pacific Railroads,* published by Howell-North Books of Berkeley, appeared this spring.

The name had been established of course by Ben Holladay's Great Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company, over which had briefly, in 1861, traveled the lightning service of the immortal Pony Express. The Central Overland Route it followed was well established in the American awareness, and the word Overland had been incorporated in the name of the first primeval telegraph between California and the Missouri River which put the Pony Express out of business. The word Overland was possessed of a magic, and its application to a transcontinental express augured well for the future of the carrier which originated it, even though the long shadow of Jay Gould, that man of universal disaster, already cast itself across the affairs of Union Pacific. Jay Gould was not averse to operating some of his properties at a profit (the U.P. never was one of these) so long as he was able to allocate the profit to some allied or subsidiary property where it was more convenient to him. Until long after Jay Gould's death and as long as the Gould dynasty was a considerable power in American railroading, no Gould railroad property ever knew in advance if it was to be allowed to show a profit for a given fiscal period or made to hold the bag for another of the family's far flung investments. Almost invariably, until the regime of Edward Henry Harriman, Union Pacific's finances were in lamentable case, a circumstance which did not in the least mitigate the fact that it was a fairly well operated carrier.

The new *Overland Flyer* was placed in daily service between Council Bluffs-Omaha and Ogden, Utah, as we have seen, on a daily basis in the fall of 1887, but not for another twelve years was the name Overland to make itself known on train sheets, time tables, operating cards, or company literature of any sort of the connecting Central Pacific and later Southern Pacific railroads which exchanged traffic with the U.P., first at Promontory, but shortly thereafter at Ogden, as it does to this day.

Since the inaugural of through service over the Union Pacific-Central Pacific connection from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast immediately after Promontory, daily service on the Central Pacific leg of the journey had been aboard Trains No. 1 and 2, *The Atlantic Express* eastbound, and *The Pacific Express* westbound. During that period and until the closing year of the century the operation of the Central Pacific was under the shrewd and extremely determined administration of

Collis P. Huntington, a man of limitless capacity for detail but not much imagination or, it may be assumed, dedication to the passenger business of his lines. Trains No. 1 and 2 carried at first the Silver Palace Hotel Cars built to its order at Wilmington, Delaware, by the car-building firm of Jackson & Sharp. These were self-contained sleeping cars with their own kitchens and facilities for serving of food en route and satisfactory enough until the far superior hotel cars of George Mortimer Pullman began appearing on the Union Pacific connecting trains where their demonstrable virtues of luxury and substantial construction soon recommended them to the Central Pacific management for the through run to California.

The Central Pacific was not prejudiced against progress or passenger comfort when these were demonstrably to its advantage; what seems to have proved totally unacceptable to its thinking was the word Overland. Its willingness to cooperate with its Union Pacific connection was clearly established when it went all-out in a joint venture with the U.P., which was to produce the first all-Pullman, extra-fare name train on a luxury dimension anywhere in the United States. *The Golden Gate Special* went into service on a weekly basis December 5, 1888, and operated until May 12, 1889, perhaps the most curious of all seasonal schedulings since the winter tourist trade to southern California was in its extreme infancy at the time and never existed at all on the San Francisco run.

At this remove the only excuse for the existence of the *Golden Gate Special* was as a probe to determine the depth in which luxury travel at extra cost was available to exploitation and as a try-out for special features which were later to be incorporated in the consist of *The Overland Limited*. Special de luxe equipment, including what are believed by students of railroad matters to have been the first of all open-platform observation-drawing room cars anywhere, were custom-built by Pullman for *The Golden Gate*, and the train name as well as the names of its owning carriers, also an innovation with fancy overtones, was engrossed on the name boards of the fine Palace Cars—*Sybaris*, *Golden Gate*, *Aladdin*, *Khiva*, *Rabula*, *Australia*, and *New Zealand*. *Golden Gate* boasted the first bathtub available on any train west of the Missouri River, and the superb dining car *Casa Monica* was presided over by a French chef of notable pedigree, and the wine card carried six kinds of Hock and Champagne alone, wines specially recommended for breakfast.

The Golden Gate Special was nothing if not extra-fare, extra fine, and, according to the standards of the time, extra fast, and its resounding name shared equally in the promotional matter of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific passenger agents. It was known, advertised and promoted by name all the way from Council Bluffs to Oakland. Only *The Overland* lost its identity and was to continue to do so officially when it merged with *The Atlantic* and *The Pacific Express* at the end of the Union Pacific's territory.

As long as Collis Huntington lived and his commands were executed by the now almost godlike Southern Pacific General Manager Julius Kruttschnitt, the name Overland was acknowledged and venerated everywhere east of Ogden. As the prestige and celebrity of *The Overland Limited* became national and one of the crowning glories of Union Pacific, it was apprehended and appropriated on a resounding scale by rival railroads and by commercial enterprise everywhere. The Santa Fe Railroad, in direct competition for the Southern California tourist trade, maintained an *Overland Limited* on the Chicago-Los Angeles run for many years. As late as the 1920's the Burlington Railroad had an *Overland Express* daily between Chicago and Denver. In far-off Boston, the patriarchal grocery firm of S. S. Pierce named their prestige cigar Overland and its band and packaging for decades displayed a splendid likeness of *The Limited* in red and gold hurrying smokily on its transcontinental occasions, the most splendid of all imaginable varnish trains. Throughout the West, Overland hotels, restaurants and saloons were a commonplace, most of them displaying photographic or lithographic likenesses of the train, and an Overland Hotel to this day stands in Reno's Commercial Row overlooking a Southern Pacific mainline where no *Overland* runs.

But the word was no part of the operating or advertising lexicon of the Southern Pacific Railroad. So far as Huntington and Kruttschnitt were concerned, the "Overland Route" ceased to exist at the foot of Weber Canyon in the Wasatch, and its extension was designated in Southern Pacific literature "The Ogden Gateway Route" or, in a moment of pure poetry after through diners had become a commonplace, "The Dining Car Route."

This state of things was to exist without break in the official façade of the Southern Pacific until 1899, although popular usage would seem to indicate that *The Atlantic* and *Pacific Expresses* were coming to be popularly and conversationally known in California as *The Overland.* Ambrose Bierce, before he went east for W. R. Hearst and at a time when the railroad operations of the Big Four were a special target for his displeasure, frequently spoke of the transcontinental as *The Overland,* and a clip of primeval motion picture film dating from either 1893 or 1894 is explicitly captioned *The Overland Limited* and depicts a double-headed passenger train behind two Southern Pacific wood burners in the High Sierra. Popular or colloquial acceptance were running ahead of official fact.

But in 1899 change was everywhere in the picture of Western railroading in the United States, and a new and far more portentous shadow was being cast across the affairs of Union Pacific than that of Jay Gould. The new name that had begun as a whisper and was to end as a roar in San Francisco's Montgomery Street was that of Edward Henry Harriman, a wispy hard-hatted and undersized operator from Wall Street whose shrewd and covert railroad manipulations had been accorded small notice by the tycoons of the time until he emerged, a good deal bigger than life size, as proprietor and sole arbiter of the destinies of a railroad empire that was to include Illinois Central, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, the Oregon Short Line, and Oregon Railway & Navigation Company. By 1899 Harriman had transformed the tottering Union Pacific, which had actually gone into receivership in 1893, into a high speed, marvelously maintained mainline transcontinental. Everywhere from Omaha to Great Salt Lake his genius for operations expressed itself in heavier rail, splendidly ballasted roadbed, shortened curves, spidery trestles replaced with solid earth fills, and modernized signaling and dispatching to replace antiquated techniques that dated from the time of the Golden Spike itself.

Nobody was more aware of the looming shadow of this colossus than Julius Kruttschnitt or was in fuller realization that Harriman's steady purchase of Southern Pacific securities whenever the market seemed opportune was soon going to make him top man at the railroad's medieval headquarters at the corner of Fourth and Townsend streets in San Francisco. Kruttschnitt stirred his stumps to make himself acceptable, not only to old King Collis, about whose ample person graveyard airs were beginning to gather, but to Union Pacific in Omaha. He solicited operational suggestions from Union Pacific executives and asked if there was any way he could be helpful in the matter of their jointly maintained Overland (or Dining Car) Route. Although the archives of neither railroad can be called in witness, it seems reasonable to suppose that among the first suggestions that arrived on Kruttschnitt's desk was that something be done to recognize *The Overland Limited* which the Union Pacific had been maintaining in lonely grandeur, these dozen years, only to have its candy train churlishly disinherited the moment its locomotives ventured onto Southern Pacific rails.

Practically with the speed of light, considering the Southern Pacific's previous intransigence, *The Overland Limited* became a top priority concern at Fourth and Townsend. With a minimum time allowance for the necessary notification of passenger agents throughout the land and the printing of company literature, the long orphaned train name now became the S.P.'s most choicely regarded property. On October 15, 1899, Trains No. 1 and 2 on both Union Pacific and Southern Pacific time cards over the entire run from Chicago to San Francisco, which by now included the Omaha-Chicago tracks of the Vanderbilt-dominated Chicago & North Western Railway, became *The Overland Limited,* and on the Southern Pacific time cards the long established *Atlantic* and *Pacific Expresses* were relegated to secondary status as Trains No. 3 and 4

"Travel agents will discover in the new *Overland Limited* the *ne plus ultra* of railroad luxury," read the Southern Pacific promotional literature smugly. "It is a veritable gem of a train."

As such *The Overland Limited* was destined to be all the way from the shores of Lake Michigan to Oakland Mole for a full half century to come while its name, in declining circumstances of prestige and desirability, lingered on the Southern Pacific train sheets as a stub run to Ogden until as late as 1962. During a major portion of this period it was the most celebrated name train in the American West, cherished and maintained in excellence by its owning carriers, including the Southern Pacific, as the bright particular star of their operational diadem. But it had had a hard time getting there.

The California Catholic Church in Transition, 1846-1850

By JOHN BERNARD McGLOIN, S.J.

ON MONDAY, MAY 3, 1535, Hernán Cortés landed on the shores of a bay in Lower California which is now known as that of La Paz. Following immemorial Spanish custom, the Conqueror named the land after the feast day in his liturgical calendar and, since May third is the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, he called his find La Tierra de Santa Cruz—The Land of the Holy Cross. It appears undoubtedly true that this earliest of names antedated that of California itself and that with it began the religious history of what we now call California.

The present study is an attempt to spotlight a less-known period of that history. Few will contest the assertion that there is an abundance of things written concerning the California mission system in general and about many of the missions in particular; however not nearly enough has been written concerning those iron years, 1846-1850, when, bereft of her first bishop, Francisco García Diego y Moreno, O.S.F.,[1] California Catholicism suffered near eclipse after the proud days of Junípero Serra, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, and other notables of the mission age. Here I shall try, with the help of primary materials now available, to present an overall picture of the religious scene, especially as viewed by some of the Americans who came here in 1848-1849. Next I will be concerned with the important arrival in San Francisco Harbor, on the evening of Friday, December 6, 1850, of José Sadoc Alemany, O.P., who was destined to serve for three years, 1850-1853, as bishop of Monterey (his diocese included all of California) and as the distin-

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guished first archbishop of San Francisco, 1853-1884. Finally, I shall draw some conclusions from this interesting transitional period in the California Catholic story.

GENERAL PICTURE OF DEVASTATION

Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* is well known to all students of California's past. The observations contained therein concerned his journey to El Dorado in 1846 and 1847, and they were first published in 1848. His brief comments on religion are of interest here:

> The religion of the Californians is Roman Catholic and, like people of all Roman Catholic countries, they appear to be devotedly attached to the forms of their religion. The females, I noticed, were nearly all devoutly attached to their religious institutions. There are but a few of the Jesuit [*sic*] Fathers who established the missions now remaining in the country.[2]

It seems to have been the destiny of some of the on-coming Americans to have nicely recorded the anemic state of California Catholicism both from inside the household as well as from the outside.[3] Even a slight sampling of the available evidence will abundantly prove that during 1846-1850 the fabric of Catholicism in California was in sad need of repair. Not only had secularization done its work, as already indicated, but the onrush of people to the territory found Catholicism almost completely unprepared to operate efficiently. Such testimony is to be found in a letter dated "San Francisco, Upper California, March 16, 1848," which was written by Edward H. Harrison, employed in the Quartermaster Department there. His letter, which was published in Baltimore, was addressed to Mr. Lucas, a prominent Catholic.

> Dear Sir: As the only person of my acquaintance to whom I could apply for the information I require, I have taken the liberty of addressing a few lines to you.
>
> At this time, Sir, there is in our little town upwards of 200 or more who worship after the Roman Catholic faith—all speaking the same tongue and very few families with the Spanish language and, in consequence of this, I have repeatedly been desired to write that a preast [*sic*] might be appointed to this place; and how to accomplish a task this required of me, I must confess I was quite ignorant; several have spoken to me today relative to it, which induces me to apply to you for your aid in this good cause, and one, sir, which I am sure will not be objectionable on your part.
>
> The Mission Dolores, the only place of worship near to this town, is distant 3 miles, and under the direction of a Deacon [probably the Sacristan is meant] and he an Indian who is very illiterate, reads badly, and commands little or no respect

from the Californians or Foreigners. This alone is to be regretted particularly at this time when, of all others, it is required.

I would ask for the information of those that are interested. Is it possible for us to have a preast [*sic*] from the United States? If so, what course is it necessary to pursue? These, dear Sir, are questions that I am unable to answer with satisfaction to myself or those who ask them, from being ignorant of the relative position of the Church in the United States and that in Mexico. In former times, each of the missions were under the control of a preast [*sic*] sent from Mexico. These good men were forced by native Californians to leave their lands and cattle and return to Mexico. It is now some years since this took place [the Franciscan missions of California were secularized in 1834] and those buildings, once so clean and pretty in their simplicity, are fast becoming a mass of ruins; those beautiful plains once under cultivation, have now become a barren waste and the Indian who looked up to his Padre with reverence has again returned to his native wilds and become the terror of the Californians and of those who reside upon the frontier and it will be a long time before the situation can be alleviated.

There has been [*sic*] many offers made to me to contribute towards the erection of a suitable place of worship in this town, and I have no hesitation in saying that a sufficient amount of money could be obtained for such a purpose here readily, but I would not undertake such a work without some authority or direction to guide me, and the knowledge that the wishes of the people would be complied with.

Will you therefore allow me to trouble you by placing this matter before the Archbishop [Eccleston of Baltimore] at as early a date as possible in order that we may be relieved from the difficulties we are now laboring under?[4]

Other such evidence is to be had from the pen of Frederick Chatard, a native of Maryland who entered the United States Navy in 1824 and rose to the rank of commander in 1855. His letter was sent to Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore under date of November 29, 1848, from the U. S. Ship *Lexington*, San Francisco.

Sir:

It is with much diffidence and only from a sense of duty that I obtrude upon your precious moments to speak of matters of which, perhaps, you are already sufficiently informed, but their importance induce me to hazard repetition. . . .

From the discovery of the gold mines and its natural position, San Francisco is destined soon to become a commercial town of much importance—it now exhibits much prosperity and wealth; if one of your clergymen were here at this moment, I believe he could raize [*sic*] any amount to build a church.

The people are a wild, motly set of all nations and creeds, and no-one to guide them. Protestant ministers can't be kept here, preferring to gather their flocks at the mines. The people have induced one to remain to preach morality (they say) on Sundays, to whom they give by subscription about $3,000 a year. I heard a Catholic say that he gave $500 rather than have no-one. As to the morals of San

Francisco, you can imagine what they must be when the Golden Calf alone is worshipped. The lots here are very high already, indeed, I believe, not far below the prices of New York—yet one might be obtained for a church if a clergyman was here; two or three merchants have spoken to me, and a Mr. Wm. A. Richardson told me he would not hesitate to give a lot if a clergyman would come out and, at his house he would be sure to have every comfort until properly situated. I speak of one clergyman for San Francisco, but how many are required for Upper California! There are only thirteen in the whole territory, some very old, others very ignorant and others again, I am sorry to say it but it is true, very bad; none of them, I expect, suitable for the present population emigrating to Upper California.

Another word about the church property, and I will close. Influence will have to be used, when the territorial government is formed, to secure the small portion of ground which still remains around the churches and missions. Emigrants have taken possession (and squatted) wherever the site pleased them, not infrequently on church lands; Californians themselves have seized them and hold large portions. At Monterey the priest told me that against his remonstrance, the Alcalde, the Reverend Walter Colton (Chaplain of Congress Frigate) sold church lots quite near to the edifice. So you see, Sir, the importance of being warned in time so that proper measures may be taken when a new Governor comes out. With these few remarks, . . .

I remain, Sir, Very Respectfully,
Fredk. Chatard
Lieut. Comdr. U.S. Ship Lexington[5]

In 1848, when James Marshall discovered gold in California, the entire Catholic clergy of the region consisted of seven Franciscan friars and five secular priests, all of them either Spaniards or Mexican. What could so few do in the face of the onrushing tide of humanity which invaded El Dorado a century ago during the Gold Rush?

The previously mentioned Franciscan administrator of the diocese of California, José María González Rúbio, determined to recruit the ranks of his clergy. His efforts were valiant and, to a degree, successful. He invited the Jesuits to California, and in December, 1849, two came from Oregon. He also wrote the following informative lines on February 1, 1849, to the superior general of the Picpus Fathers (Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary), the Most Reverend J. Bonamie, archbishop of Chalcedon:

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

This new [American] California has many persons of different religious opinions, is deprived of a bishop, is destitute both as regards priests and that temporal support which it formerly enjoyed so abundantly; hence it may be said that California is in grave danger of losing its Catholic faith. In this land, for the last two years occupied by alien armies, we are now, because of a treaty entered into between the Mexican and the North American republics, made subject to Protestant rule. [Evidently Father Rubio considered all Americans as Protestants until the contrary was proven!] In the midst of so many evils, as soon as I was chosen, though quite unworthy, as the administrator of this diocese by the chapter of Mexico City, I have unceasingly endeavored to obtain help from both God and man. Indeed, my spirit was strengthened and some light afforded by the arrival on our shores of the estimable Fathers Lebret and Holbein of your congregation; I was heartened, too, by the encouraging letters of their prelate, Bishop Maigret [also a Picpus member and then Vicar Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands—now called the Hawaiian Islands]. I have had some discussions with Father Lebret, since he appears empowered to do something for us; and we have discussed the question of transporting here five or even more priests of your congregation who should be acquainted with either the English or the Spanish languages. I earnestly ask for your approval of this project and that you may approve of it by your authority; to this end, I enclose a draft for $2,000.

It is true, of course, that these few men will not measure up to all our necessities, but I am certain, though, that when we have had their help and looked over the whole situation, still more of their brethren will come here both to preserve the Catholics in their faith and to convert the native infidels and, most of all, to train our youth in knowledge and virtue. A very great harvest of souls is waiting here, both as regards Protestants and infidels as well as Catholics; I believe, too, that money will not be lacking to bring priests here, if the piety of the faithful be excited and thus help be afforded our necessities. Savage Indian tribes already inhabit this land, and here daily great numbers of Protestants and Catholics are arriving, with no one to whom they can entrust the education of their children; meanwhile the mines are offering riches to these newcomers. Inasmuch as you are most desirous of widening the circle of the missions of your congregation, and, as I hear, an abundance of men is not wanting to you, do protect Divine Worship among us lest it perish, and restore it to its former splendor. Love for humanity and the charity of Christ ask this of you. Otherwise the infidels will yet remain in the shadow of paganism, Christian piety will grow cold and disappear, and the Protestants will occupy our churches, deserted now for the most part.[6]

These above-cited testimonies all establish the travail which California Catholicism suffered during the transition years of 1846-1850, before the coming of Bishop José Sadoc Alemany to California in 1850.

BISHOP JOSÉ SADOC ALEMANY

José Sadoc Alemany was born in Vich in Spain in 1814 and died in Valencia in his native land in 1888.[7] When only fifteen, Alemany entered upon life in the Dominican Order and, on the suppression of religious orders in Spain in 1835, went to Viterbo, Italy, where on

March 27, 1837, at twenty-three, he was ordained by Bishop Gaspar Pianetti. After receiving the Lectorate in Sacred Theology in 1840, Father Alemany shortly journeyed to Ohio as a missionary of his order. That he really wished to identify himself with the American scene is easily evidenced by the fact that on April 15, 1841, he filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen in the court of Muskingum County, Ohio, and was subsequently naturalized in Memphis, Tennessee, on October 27, 1845. In 1842 he was sent to Nashville, Tennessee, and then to Memphis in 1845. In 1847 he was made master of novices in Kentucky and, finally, provincial of the Dominicans of the Midwest in 1849. Early 1850 saw Father Alemany's return to Rome where a general chapter of his order was to be held. Already he had been considered fit material for the episcopal office in the United States, for Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore had confided to Spalding of Louisville, under date of April 18, 1850, that the Fathers of the last plenary council had placed Alemany first in a list of *episcopabiles.* The later utterances of Alemany on the subject amply justify the assertion that Friar Joseph Sadoc had no episcopal desires, either overt or covert, in his entire mentality; however he could not plead ill health and, after telling Pius IX, to whose side he had been called for conference, that he had no desire for the episcopal office, he heard the pontiff gently insist that God would help him in the execution of a difficult task. Sunday, June 30, 1850, saw his consecration as a bishop in Rome. His consecrator was Cardinal Franzoni; and, while officially announced as bishop of Monterey in California, contemporary press accounts frequently refer to him simply as "Bishop of California"—and such indeed he was; for, although the see was placed at Monterey, both Upper and Lower California were at first included in his territory. As such, Alemany was the second bishop of the diocese of both Californias, which now had its name officially changed to Monterey. And so, from June 30, 1850, California had its pioneer American prelate which augured well for the future of Catholicism by the western sea.

Bishop Alemany did not long delay in Rome. His European journey included stops in Paris, London, and, notably, Dublin, where he obtained promises of sacerdotal assistance. Bishop Alemany arrived in New York City on October 12, 1850. A short visit to Baltimore, Washington, and to Philadelphia found him preaching in St. Peter's Church in the latter city on Sunday, November 3, and his appeal in behalf of his diocese was followed the next day by his departure from New York for Chagres as a passenger on the steamer *Crescent City*. Previous to his departure, he diplomatically let it be known that he was grateful to Messrs. Howland and Aspinwall for "special and valuable courtesies extended to him in the matter of his passage to Chagres."

Details as to the Isthmian journey of Bishop Alemany and his party are lacking; but we know that his companions included Father Sadoc Vilarassa, on his way to make a Dominican foundation in California, and Mother Mary Goemere, intent on the same purpose for the Dominican sisterhood. However, since the celebrated and costly Panama Railroad was not yet finished, I may hazard the guess that the Isthmus crossing was not replete with comfort. The journey from Panama City to San Francisco ordinarily took from ten days to two weeks, and the *Columbus* with Alemany on board put in through the Golden Gate late on the evening of Friday, December 6, 1850. His arrival in El Dorado was officially chronicled by Father Anthony Langlois, one of the Canadian priests who had come to California from the Northwest in the preceding year and who was now acting as first pastor of San Francisco's patronal and first Gold Rush parish, St. Francis of Assisi. The pastor thus entered the fact of Alemany's arrival: "December 6, 1850, at 11 o'clock at night, the steamship Columbus brought us the Rev. Joseph Alemany, O.P., Bishop of Monterey and California [*sic*] . . ."[8]

Bishop Alemany's first task was to establish his status as episcopal successor to Bishop García Diego, now dead four and a half years. Although at least two imposters had bothered Father Langlois before Alemany's coming—Langlois had been appointed by the Governor of the Mitre as Vicar General for Northern California—the pastor of St. Francis quickly satisfied himself as to Alemany's legitimacy as successor to the bishopric of California or, more precisely, his accession to the see of Monterey. It was true that no news of Alemany's selection, consecration, or coming had reached anyone in San Francisco, but the Dominican prelate was amply fortified with the properly authenticated documents. It was with real joy, then, that Father Langlois knelt to receive the blessing of the second prelate accorded by Rome to California Catholicism. On December 10, the following Sunday, a public reception was accorded to him by the Catholic citizenry of San Francisco, felicitations and the warmest sentiments were exchanged between the pastor and his flock, and a purse of about $1400 was given to the bishop to care for necessary and current expenses. Addresses were made in English, Spanish, and French; the prelate responded in all three tongues.

On December 14, he departed by steamer for Santa Barbara to present his credentials to Father González Rúbio. Alemany arrived at Santa Barbara on Christmas Day in time to offer Mass there. The near-end of a long journey (he had yet to take up residence in Monterey) is thus recorded by the methodical bishop: "Show my Bulls to the Vicar Capitular who, with Father José Jimeno and Father Francisco Sánchez, recognize their genuineness and acknowledge me as the long expected Bishop of Monterey, and as such I take possession of the Diocese of Monterey, formerly called the Diocese of Both Californias, and I preach to the assembled people at the Old Mission."[9] January 9, 1851, was an important day in the history of the diocese for, on that date, notes Alemany, "Father Gonzales hands me the documents of the Archives of the Diocese, including important papers, history, correspondence, etc., on the Pious Fund, all the Pontificals and articles belonging to my predecessor, with some pieces of gold, the alms and offerings of past years, belonging to the Diocese. Continuing there for several days, he gave me much explanation on the state of the diocese . . ."[10] After some other necessary preliminaries, Bishop Alemany went to his see city from Santa Barbara and arrived there in early February, for the next entry in his "Libro" reads: "February 4—I establish myself at Monterey, receiving board and lodging from the kind hospitality of the González family and of Don Manuel Jimeno and others . . ."[11] He soon found that his clerical resources consisted of twelve secular priests, seven Picpus Fathers, one Dominican, and one Jesuit, who were in charge of twenty-six churches and one seminary. In his first report prepared for the *Catholic Directory* for 1851, Alemany estimated that there were forty thousand Catholics in the total estimated California population of one hundred and fifty thousand.

It is beyond the scope of this story to endeavor to fully asesss the distinguished years which marked the long service of Alemany in California. Indeed, until a full length treatment of the man appears, it would seem that there will be a lamentable gap in the religious history of California. Suffice it to say here that, both as bishop of Monterey, 1850-

1853, as well as first archbishop of San Francisco, 1853-1884, José Sadoc Alemany of the Order of Preachers was in the midst of the issues which make California history so interesting during this period. The Civil War saw him espousing the cause of loyalty to his adopted country, even though he was opposed to the "flagging" of his churches—an issue which divided religious leaders and their congregations during those troublous times. When the sand-lot agitator, Denis Kearney, had succeeded in attracting large numbers of workingmen, including obviously many Catholic unemployed, to his rabble rousing demonstrations, it was the diminutive but courageous Alemany who in a pastoral letter of April 5, 1878, wrote these stern words to his numerous flock: "We, therefore, admonish and even require everyone to stay away from such seditious, anti-social and anti-Christian meetings." Thus the record reveals itself: In all of the major issues which formed part of his long episcopate, Archbishop Alemany proved not only the competent servant of his church but also an enlightened and respected citizen and leader.

It is hoped that enough information has been presented here to outline the near extinction which California Catholicism suffered in the interim years which followed secularization and the death of Bishop García Diego in 1846. It is hoped, too, that the brief sampling here offered of the testimonies of various persons have effectively demonstrated that same sad state of Catholicism which only began to improve with the arrival of Bishop Alemany in 1850.

NOTES

1. Francis J. Weber has done the only life of this important Franciscan prelate up to the present time. His monograph is called *A Biographical Sketch of Right Reverend Francisco García Diego y Moreno, First Bishop of the Californias, 1785-1846* (Los Angeles, 1961).

2. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour . . . in the Years 1846, 1847* (New York, 1848), p. 453.

3. The present writer has quoted several other of these testimonies concerning the weakened state of California Catholicism in his *Eloquent Indian: The Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit* (Stanford, 1949). See c. 1, "The California Catholic Church: a Report on Religion."

4. Original letter was consulted by the writer in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Chancery Office, Baltimore, Maryland.

5. This letter is similarly preserved in the above-mentioned archives.

6. A copy of this letter is in the Franciscan Archives, Santa Barbara, California. The present writer has translated it from the original Latin.

7. The present writer is now engaged in writing the life of Archbishop Alemany; up to now, the pioneer archbishop of San Francisco has received too little attention from biographers. There is, however, an unpublished master's thesis of real worth: *A Preliminary Survey of the Life of the Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, First Archbishop of San Francisco* by Sister Gertrude Mary Gray (San Rafael, California, 1942). Sketches of Alemany's earlier years in America are to be found in Victor O'Daniel, O.P., *The Father of the Church in Tennessee, or the Life, Times and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., The First Bishop of Nashville* (Washington, D. C., 1926) and in the same author's *The Dominican Province of St. Joseph: Historico-Biographical Studies* (New York, 1942).

8. Father Langlois' Journal (later destroyed in the San Francisco fire in 1906) is quoted in Joseph Riordan, S.J., *The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College* (San Francisco, 1905), p. 35.

9. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1915), IV. 683. Alemany's original notation is in his "Libro de Borradores" which is preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, IV, 684-686.

Site of the Diamond Swindle of 1872

By PETER FARQUHAR

IN THE COURSE of a recent intensive study of Browns Park, in Colorado and Utah, just south of the Wyoming line, I became interested in trying to locate the site of the diamond swindle of 1872 in which San Francisco capitalists paid a large sum of money for participation in an alleged diamond mine. The story is well known and has been revived frequently, sometimes clarifying the facts, quite as often obscuring them: Two men brought to the Bank of California in San Francisco a sack of rough diamonds for safekeeping. W. C. Ralston, the bank's president, thought he saw another Golconda. He formed a syndicate, and several hundred thousand dollars were paid to the prospectors for an interest, contingent upon proof of genuineness. Henry Janin, leading mining engineer of the day, was taken to the site and made an enthusiastic report; Tiffany, in New York, pronounced the samples to be valuable diamonds. There were also rubies, an unusual combination which should have aroused suspicion. Great care was taken to keep secret the precise location. Although it was known to a number of people that the site could be reached by horseback from a station on the Union Pacific Railroad, rumors were spread that led the public to believe that the site was in Arizona. The capitalists were ready for a killing; shares were about to be placed on the market; New York, and even London, investors were eager to get in on the deal. Then, suddenly the whole thing collapsed.

Clarence King, head of the United States Survey of the Fortieth Parallel, learned of the diamond find and became suspicious. He made his way to the vicinity of the site and soon located the exact spot. He found diamonds, to be sure, but at the same time unmistakable evidence

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that they had been planted—"salted." He hastened to San Francisco and informed Ralston just in time to prevent a financial disaster. He insisted on publication of his report, which later appeared in the San Francisco *Alta California*, on November 26, 1872. There must have been many red faces, and reddest of all must have been that of W. C. Ralston. He, however, took most of the financial loss himself, and the public did not suffer.

How did Clarence King solve the carefully guarded secret of the site? And how was it that in later years the key seems to have been lost, and supposedly reliable guidebooks have placed the site in various places throughout the West? King says in his report, "I availed myself of the intimate knowledge possessed by the gentlemen of my corps, not only of Colorado and Wyoming, but of the trail of every party travelling there, and was enabled to find the spot without difficulty." In a follow-up, Ralston sent General Colton, manager of the newly formed company, to the field at the head of a group of investigators under King's guidance. They returned with sorrowful confirmation of the fraud. Colton in his report (also published in the *Alta California* with King's report) specifically states: "We proceeded by train to Black Butte Station, on the Union Pacific Railroad, in Wyoming Territory, thence taking riding animals we reached the ground on the 18th, it being in the territory of Colorado, in a due south direction from Black Butte Station, and not to exceed fifty miles therefrom." How anyone thereafter could look for the diamond field in Arizona, or even in Utah, I can't imagine; but a lot of people did. Bancroft's *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, published in 1889, gives a brief account of the episode and shows how the perpetrators of the fraud tried to make people think that the field was in Arizona, but closes on page 592 by saying, "while in all that was written, it was the Arizona diamond-fields that were described, and the 'Arizona diamond swindle' that was denounced, not only were there no diamonds in Arizona, but the salted claim was in north-western Colorado, hundreds of miles from the Arizona line." Apparently no one in Arizona ever saw fit to make a correction, for a place in Apache County, Arizona, still proudly bears the name "Diamond Fields." Utah also puts in a claim. The W.P.A. *Utah State Guide, 1941*, has a detailed note on pages 373-74 on "Diamond Gulch," but it is quite irrelevant so far as Utah is concerned. The W.P.A. *Wyoming State Guide, 1941*, is wrong in fact as well as in time and space in its account on page 243.

Leaving these false clues, let us go back to original sources and try to find the exact spot where the diamonds were salted and where Clarence King found them. First of all let us take the, to me, obvious course of looking at contemporary maps. Clarence King's "United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel" published an atlas in 1876, and Professor F. V. Hayden's "United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories" published an atlas of Colorado in 1877. One of the maps in King's atlas shows a trail running east and west just north of the Colorado line. The maps in both atlases were made in part by A. D. Wilson, who was one of the men of King's staff who knew the country and led King to the salted diamond field. A long-overlooked article by A. D. Wilson in *Overland Monthly* (April, 1904) leads us directly to the point, coinciding perfectly with the maps. Wilson says they travelled east from Fort Bridger, crossing the Green River. This leaves the supposed Utah site quite out of the picture. They came to a small spring and "climbed to the top of a mesa formed by nearly horizontal layers of sandstone." They rode on until they "came to a slight rise caused by the sandstone protruding above the loose sand that formed the general level." There they found diamonds, and on further investigation satisfied themselves "that it was a case of 'salt'."

Wilson's account is corroborated by a contemporary letter of King's, written to General A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, and dated November 27, 1872, in which he mentions crossing Green River and, after discovering proof of the fraud, a dawn-to-dark ride with Wilson to the Union Pacific station at Black Butte "in time to jump upon the Western bound train."

There could be no further doubt about the general location. The Hayden map, based on Wilson's personal knowledge, furnishes additional clues: there we find "Diamond Pk." and "Ruby Cr." King's report speaks of "Ruby Gulch leading directly from Table Rock," while Colton's report mentions "a high table land, on the north side of a pine clad mountain."

I was now ready to look for the table rock by search on the ground. There are no good published maps of this region. The USGS maps are not sufficient, and the current highway maps differ in details. I went to the USGS headquarters in Denver, and there Mr. Francis Rosare, in the Air Photo Division, made available to me the airphoto coverage of the area. It had been flown by the Army at high altitude, producing sheets at a scale of 1:6200. This is just about the borderline for identifying objects such as roads and trails. On these airphotos I searched the area, generally north, but also northeast and northwest of Diamond Peak (clearly identifiable) for the table rock and the other required features: the gulch (Ruby Gulch), the pine-clad mountain, the spring one or two miles away, a stream running down from the mesa suitable for gravel-washing.[1] Using modern aerial photographic interpretation techniques, I came up with something that fitted exactly. This in itself was not conclusive, but a search of all other areas within a radius of ten miles of Diamond Peak disclosed no other features that resembled those of the several reports.

Now, about the middle of May, 1961, I began a field reconnaissance. At first I had to rely on memory of the airphotos, as copies I had ordered had not come from Washington. In my camper-bus, I got on the north slope of Diamond Peak. I followed steep trails most of the time, sometimes walking, searching backwards and forwards. I knew I was very near the site, but I could not find from the ground the features I had seen in the airphotos. Early in July the photos had come, and I tried again, this time from a different approach. I left the highway (Route 430) that runs from US 40 at Maybelle, Colorado, north to Rock Springs, Wyoming, at Vermilion Creek and followed a road through the Dickinson Ranch and up one of the side canyons. I left the car and climbed up to a plateau area. There, about a mile and a half away, I saw a feature that looked something like the one in the airphotos. After about one hour's climb, I arrived at a mesa or table rock. But it was not until I was actually standing on it that everything clicked into place, fitting the descriptions perfectly. It was interesting that I had not been able to identify the place from a mile away; I had to stand right on the spot. I doubt if one could even pick it out from the air unless trained to interpret ground-features while flying. It was indeed a table rock of resistant sandstone, lying above the general plateau area. The other features were there: a gully splitting the mesa down the middle; Diamond Peak directly south, pine-clad on its northern slope; and a stream only a quarter of a mile away. I was fully convinced that this was the place.

A few weeks later I was able to take my father to look at it. He was almost convinced, but objected that the only spring in sight was not big enough to be the one at which King and Wilson had camped. He thought he had identified that spring a few years before when he visited the region. It had been close to the natural east-west route a little to the north. We therefore decided to look around some more. It was not easy to follow the rough ranch roads, but by trial and error we found another approach; and suddenly, as we came over a ridge, there was the spring. It was the one my father had seen in 1954. It fitted Wilson's description, but was it near enough to the table rock that I had identified? We were able to drive up towards the top by another rough road to the left. We came to a sign, "Wyoming-Colorado Boundary," and a little farther on, within two miles of the spring, we were on the mesa and back at the table rock that I had found before. It was definitely in *Colorado.*[2]

All that remained was to find some diamonds. But there was ample evidence that the ground had been well worked over, probably a long time ago. Perhaps with time enough and a little luck one might discover a diamond or two that had been overlooked. But that will have to be done by someone else. My part in the search was finished.

NOTES

1. The individual photograph is identified as BVSS M 28 AMS; July 1953, 126; No. 2695.

2. Less than five miles south of the Wyoming line; less than ten miles west of Highway 430.

New Books

William Andrew Spalding, Los Angeles Newspaperman. Edited by Robert V. Hine. (San Marino, The Henry Huntington Library, 1961. 180 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Glenn S. Dumke.

Most Western historians are already acquainted with the name of William A. Spalding, as the author of one of the most popular and comprehensive subscription histories of Los Angeles city and county. This current volume is an edited autobiography—or at least a portion of one, dealing primarily with the author's journalistic career in Los Angeles during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Spalding was born in Michigan, and had his first experience in the newspaper business in Kansas City shortly after the Civil War. In 1874 he migrated to California, and settled in Los Angeles just as that town was beginning to establish itself as a possible tourist attraction. He became a journalist, first with a job as reporter on the *Herald,* then later, after an abortive attempt to start a paper of his own, on the *Express.*

The most interesting portion of Spalding's career was his association with the Los Angeles *Times,* during the period when that newspaper was establishing itself as one of the future titans of southwestern journalism. Spalding joined the *Times* in 1885, just as the great real estate boom was beginning, and soon after Harrison Gray Otis had taken over management of the paper. Because of his association with this publication, which rapidly tied itself in closely with the growth of the region, Spalding was in a position to participate in, as well as observe, one of the most exciting decades in Los Angeles' history. He invested in real estate, was for a time part owner of the *Times* itself, and finally had his civic interests rewarded by the post of California building and loan commissioner. He returned to the *Herald* in 1897, and retired from journalism at the turn of the century.

Spalding's journalistic training makes his writing vivid and colorful, and he has an appreciation of drama which caused him to emphasize anecdotes and personality sketches. Historically, the book is valuable as an account of Los Angeles journalism during its formative period, and also as a compilation of informal observations of southern California's development, by an intelligent man who had a sense of history.

The book is well edited and presented by Robert V. Hine.

GLENN S. DUMKE, chancellor of the California State College system and former president of San Francisco State College, is an authority on California history. Dr. Dumke, a graduate of Occidental College and the University of California at Los Angeles, is the author of *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California*, and editor of the *Mexican Gold Trail: The Journal of a Forty-Niner* and of *From Wilderness to Empire.*

Rio Grande: Mainline of the Rockies. By Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1962. 380 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Donald Duke.

Among the early-day railroads of the West, none has left so rich a heritage of romance, excitement, and glamour as has Colorado's Denver & Rio Grande Western. Penetrating into the heart of the Rockies, the tiny coal-burning locomotives whistled their way through mile-deep canyons and over the above-timber line passes of the Rockies.

Fresh from helping build the Kansas Pacific Railroad, young General William J. Palmer in 1870 began constructing his own railroad from Denver southward to El Paso, Texas, and Mexico City. He was thwarted early from reaching his goal by a battle with the mighty Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe for rights over Raton Pass. Never to give up, Palmer bent his rails back into the mountains and laced much of Colorado and Utah with narrow gauge rails. Eventually his "baby railroad" standard gauged and became a vital link in the last transcontinental route to the West.

For about a quarter-century now, Lucius Beebe and his partner, Charles Clegg, have turned out books about trains and railroading. Master of the bon mot, camera artist and discriminating picture editor, Beebe has gathered together a pictorial history of the glory days of railroad construction through the roaring, booming mining towns of Leadville, Canon City, Creede, and Durango. In pictures, captions and inimitable text, the authors recreate the days when the Rio Grande was King of the Mountains.

Beebe does not stick to fragile locomotives and historical views, but moves along with progress and into modern times when heavy mallet type steam locomotives with a charge of one hundred and fifty cars worked steam up Tennessee Pass. A flavoring of the diesel age has also been included.

The volume is light on historical text, but strong on illustrative material—old cuts with entertainingly written captions. With the tabulation of a corporate and physical history plus the assistance of an excellent map on the end sheets, the reader is well equipped to relive the days of steam railroading.

A reminder of General Palmer's railroad empire is still found today as the narrow gauge plies from Durango to Silverton and back again during the summer season. It is probably the most famous scenic attraction today in Colorado's mountain region to the West.

Legions have become railfans through Beebe's books which are among the few to see second printings. This volume will create more enthusiasts from the picture lookers than the ardent rail historian. Under the title of *Rio Grande: Mainline of the Rockies,* Beebe has included a large chapter of history and photographs of the Colorado Midland Railway: the standard gauge rival which cut through the heart of the mountain, not around and through them. Another chapter discovers the Denver & Salt Lake Railway, a line which might have buried the Rio Grande had it not lost everything in building the famous Moffat Tunnel.

This bit of nostalgic Coloradiana will gladden the heart of every rail buff, Colorado devotee, and the casual reader can't help but delight in Beebe's casual commentary, interesting layout and savor the photographs of smoky engines and creaking day coaches.

Donald Duke, a graduate of Colorado College, is a foremost authority on American railroads. Author of *Southern Pacific Steam Locomotives*, of *Night Train*, and of *PE*, Mr. Duke has recently completed writing *Santa Fe: Steel Rails through California*, which is the history of the Santa Fe Railroad in California.

This Was San Francisco: Being First-Hand Accounts of the Evolution of One of America's Favorite Cities. Edited by Oscar Lewis. (New York, David McKay Co., 1962. 291 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John Bernard McGloin, S.J.

Dust jackets and cover blurbs are traditionally inaccurate in their claims and many an author has been made to wince at what they claim for his latest—or first—literary child. Oscar Lewis' latest and worthy book was not spared such an introduction into the world of reviewers and readers: airily the claim is made that the author "has created an exciting and interesting history of San Francisco from its beginnings." Obviously, Mr. Lewis has done no such thing, and one would know that he is much too honest to say that he even attempted such a task. Rather what he has done—and this well—is what he modestly mentioned in his Foreword: he has endeavored to compile a serviceable anthology of literary San Franciscana which he has aptly tied together with relevant and mature comments of his own which serve to set the whole offering in proper focus and perspective. This, in itself, is no little accomplishment.

Among the undoubted merits of this anthology plus commentary is the fact that the author has done more than merely rework the obvious sources: his industry stands revealed in the number of less known sources he has employed. This labor of love has, happily, been done not by a tyro in the field but by a genuine *aficionado* whose record of twenty-one books speaks for itself. True it is that not all of these have been of equal literary worth, but it has long been evident that, when Oscar Lewis really wishes to do a good job, he is quite capable of so doing and of successfully scaling the literary heights. In this reviewer's judgment, this is one of the better Lewis books.

Among items which might be singled out for praise is the fact that there is "fearless" mention of opinions pejorative of San Francisco! Thus Helen Hunt Jackson finds quotation in her frank observation that "as it is, San Francisco is hopelessly crowded and mixed, and can never look from the water like anything but a toppling town." Similarly, Rudyard Kipling is quoted as follows: "San Francisco is a mad city, inhabited for the most part by perfectly insane people." Lewis makes evident that, then and now, there were—and are—those who would disagree.

Several inadequacies, almost unavoidable, suggest themselves: the Concepción Argüello-Rezanov romance—"San Francisco's Own Love Story"—finds *La Beata* still waiting many years (almost certainly not so) for the return of Rezanov and then becoming a nun after "abandoning hope." Here we have one of the well nigh unsinkable legends of the California story. We may hope for the break-through of solid historical fact after so many distortions of why Concepción chose, freely, to devote the remainder of her life to the work and prayer of the Dominican sisterhood in Monterey and Benicia. Also, there is too quick and unsatisfactory mention of that Captain William A. Richardson who can be claimed as the founder of the most significant (viewed in its effects) element in the foundation of what was to become San Francisco—when, on June 25, 1835, he occupied the first dwelling in Yerba Buena. Finally, what historical research has demonstrated as the considerably overdrawn story of the "assassination" of James King of William in 1856 is presented against the account furnished by the highly partisan and involved William T. Coleman. Presumably such traditional accounts will yield eventually against scholarly onslaught and to careful research and writing. One can hardly blame Lewis in these things when some of the shadows have not yet been removed from earlier presentations. On the basis of commonly accepted versions which, at times, are more folklore than history, he has done well in this present compilation with commentaries. His work here is, it would seem, better than an earlier presentation by the late and revered Joseph Henry Jackson—"The Western Gate, A San Francisco Reader"—for, although Jackson has more sources and sweep, Lewis has much more of the thoughtful and informative commentary. Both, however, should be classed as successful attempts to furnish firsthand accounts of what Oscar Lewis has happily called the "evolution of one of America's favorite cities."

JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J., a native San Franciscan and professor of history at the University of San Francisco, is a specialist in California and San Francisco history. Father McGloin, who received his doctoral degree at Saint Louis University, is the author of *Eloquent Indian: The Life of James Bouchard*, *California Jesuit* and of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, *Church History*, *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, and the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.

Concise Dictionary of American History. Edited by Wayne Andrews and Thomas C. Cochran. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962. 1156 pp. $19.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Excellently edited by Wayne Andrews and Thomas C. Cochran, the *Concise Dictionary of American History* is an essential reference work for both students and teachers of United States history. Although the work is described on its jacket as "an abridgment in one volume of the famous *Dictionary of American History*," it goes beyond this modest description, as is evidenced by the balance and depth of its articles on the various phases of our national heritage.

The historians of the American frontier (particularly those who view frontier history from the eyes of the aborigines) will be pleased by the judicious selection and the wide breadth of the articles treating this field. The Indian, long neglected in our United States history texts, is comprehensively covered in a series of topical articles dealing with his culture and history. Treated somewhat less extensively than the Indian, but indeed covered adequately, are other phases of Western history, particularly the fur trade, the cattle industry, the state-making process, and the westward movement. The frontier thesis and mining, however, warrant a more thorough and complete analysis.

While students of California history may criticize the absence of a comprehensive essay on mining in the West, particularly since "gold is the cornerstone" of the state, they will nevertheless be pleased by the inclusion of a number of essays dealing exclusively with the history of the state. For example, the work (despite the omission of a general essay on mining) contains a brief description of the discovery of gold by James W. Marshall. But even of greater importance are the essays on the general history of California, the Bear Flag fiasco, the Frémont explorations, the Spanish and Mexican land grants, San Francisco, motion pictures, the Mormon Battalion, etc.

Lest the reader be misled by the reviewer's emphasis on California, it should be repeated that the *Concise Dictionary of American History* is a one-volume work of over twenty-two hundred brief articles, beginning with Columbus's discovery of the Americas and covering the entire history of the United States up to the election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the Presidency in 1960.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN is the editor of the California Historical Society.

Here Is the Golden Gate. By Neill C. Wilson. (New York, William Morrow & Co., 1962. 244 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Jerry MacMullen.

There are those who feel that if all books about ships and the sea and the foreshore were placed end to end, it would be an excellent idea. Many—too many—appear to have come from skillful writers who have heard about a ship but have never seen one; others have been written by men whose knowledge of nautical matters is sound, but whose prose has all the lilting gaiety of the *Table of Azimuths of the Sun.* Above this sorry hurrah's-nest of parted shrouds and sprung plates and mangled facts, *Here Is the Golden Gate* shines out like a beam from Farallon's lovely first-order lens on a clear and windy night.

In weaving a story which starts with the navigators who sailed past the Gate without knowing it, and brings you down to electronic aids to navigation and to sea-rescues by helicopter, Wilson has covered just about everything. And the readability of his text and the vividness of his word-pictures are such that you do not realize that, through it all, runs a sturdy framework of precise locations, of measured distances, of the speed of currents, and of the characteristics of lights and fog-signals. Had earlier historians given us more of this and less of the romance of it all, we'd be in far better shape today.

Wilson closes out the caravels to take on the whalers and the clippers, and passes from them to the lumbering side-wheelers and the modern liners. He tells about the whitehalls and the crab-boats—and about the time when San Francisco's Italian fishermen saved the City from humiliation by pinch-hitting for a grand opera chorus which had gone on strike. Through the book's pages move people as well as ships—William C. Ralston, Tom Crowley, Andy Furuseth, Gus Linderman—men who made San Francisco and who made history. You get tales of tugs and of ferries; of how the *Rio de Janeiro* was lost—and the *Balclutha* was saved.

Obviously not afraid of possible controversy, Wilson goes again into the matter of just where did Sir Francis Drake land, anyhow? It appears that he is one of those who feel that, had the doughty freebooter sailed into San Francisco Bay, this gigantic discovery would have remained a secret only until some one of a hundred or so blabber-mouthed mariners got loose in some pub. Nor, for that matter, does he hesitate to take a swipe at the muralists who depict the *San Carlos* as a bedizened galleon, all gussied-up with pennants and heraldic designs, *à la* Hollywood.

For the benefit of the researcher, there is an excellent index with a novel approach: a separate section for people, places, and vents, and one for ships. The whole job has the clean smell of fog, and the sound of crashing breakers and of Sergeant Maloney's fog-gun on Point Bonita. Such books are all too rare, and if Lloyd's classified books as well as ships, it would get 100-A1.

Jerry MacMullen, a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, is president of the Conference of California Historical Societies, director of the Junípero Serra Museum in San Diego, and editor of the *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*. A contributor to numerous historical journals, Mr. MacMullen is the author of *Paddle Wheel Days in California*, of *Ships of the Redwood Coast*, and *Star of India: The Log of an Iron Ship.*

The Education of Historians in the United States. By Dexter Perkins, Chairman, John L. Snell, Director, and the Committee on Graduate Education of the American Historical Association. (New York, San Francisco, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill, 1962. 244 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by Donald E. Queller.

This is the report of the Committee on Graduate Education of the American Historical Association. Professor Perkins has written an introductory chapter, followed by Professor Snell's eight chapters based on previous studies of graduate education and the extensive questionnaires and interviews undertaken for the committee, and a final chapter containing the recommendations of the entire committee. The book is replete with tables and statistics which tell a tale of vital interest to the academic historian (or the graduate student aspiring to that title), and especially to those engaged in the education of Ph.D. candidates. There are some facts which might fill us with pride and rejoicing, some which are cause for chagrin.

The common supposition that more Ph.D.'s in history will be required in the coming years, if the present ratio of Ph.D.'s to total faculties is to be maintained, is borne out by the committee's studies. The increase, however, will not be of astronomical proportions—approximately one-third more per year by 1970. While vigorous recruiting may help to meet this need, it is urgent that funds for fellowships and scholarships for the support of Ph.D. candidates be found, especially during the writing of the dissertation. History fares very badly in support of graduate study. The need for new Ph.D.'s does not appear so great as to encourage the establishment of new Ph.D. programs, though a very few well-prepared institutions might consider doing so. Minimum criteria for the innovation of new Ph.D. programs are given, and should be soberly studied by faculties ambitious to grant the Ph.D. While the graduate schools of highest prestige are now crowded, room for additional candidates is available in graduate programs that presently rank among the top twenty or thirty in the country. The reviewer wishes to add to the considerations here presented, the problem encountered by all but the five to ten top prestige institutions in placing first-rate Ph.D.'s in first-rate positions. Departments considering entering upon a Ph.D. program should carefully weigh this problem. Departments recruiting new faculty, also, might consider the opportunities it offers to them.

Few historians, I think, will disagree with the committee's urgent recommendation that Ph.D. training must be shortened, though it may surprise some of us to learn that the average Ph.D. in history requires eight years of graduate work. Outside work because of financial need is largely responsible, but so are inadequate language preparation, excessive course work requirements, and overly long dissertations. The committee recommends deadlines for meeting the language requirements and taking the general (or qualifying) examinations, as well as dissertations of three hundred pages or less. It appears that the University of California has had very good success with a compressed program. According to the committee, however, no Ph.D. should have less than four semesters of work in research seminars. Many metropolitan universities have a special problem, not considered by the committee, in the large number of part-time Ph.D. hopefuls who are teachers in the public schools. Taking into consideration the part-time students, maybe the eight year average is not quite as bad as it at first seems.

We are severely—and justly—taken to task for our failure to stress teaching ability in graduate training. Graduate students (table 8-1), recent Ph.D.'s (table 8-3), and the colleges which hire our graduates (table 8-4) join in censuring our neglect. We even stand condemned by the colleges for inability to answer the most elementary questions about the qualifications of our Ph.D.'s *as teachers.* Some institutions have attempted to remedy the fault in various ways, a few of which are described by Professor Snell. It seems to the reviewer (and, I think, to the committee) that those attempts stressing supervised and guided teaching experience in real teaching situations, especially in lecturing, are more promising than those centering upon a seminar or colloquium in college teaching, though the latter also may have value.

In very great measure I am in accord with the conclusions and recommendations of the committee—and yet ingrained misgivings about the opinion survey approach persist. For example, Professor Snell reports: "Two-thirds of the college officials consulted in this study rate evidence of teaching competence as more important than promise in research scholarship when they consider candidates for teaching positions." Yet, at the 1960 AHA meeting, Professor Dean Albertson, in charge of the Job Register, reported humorously, but at least semiseriously, that in a recommendation a sentence like: " 'He's had a little difficulty shaping his thesis, but he's a very good teacher' should be translated into 'Take him and you'll have him for life, because he won't publish'." *(New Yorker*, Jan. 14, 1961, p. 26.) Whom are those who train and recommend Ph.D.'s to believe? Is it possible that Professor Albertson's facetious remark should be weighed against the results of an extensive survey? Many of us believe that it must. The sincerity of the college officials polled is not in question. They undoubtedly believe that they stress teaching. When faced with a choice between candidates, however, one of whom is recommended as "a promising young scholar, bound to gain national distinction in his field" (especially if this assertion is supported by prior publication), and the other as "a fine, stimulating, and very popular teacher," which will they choose? I am not quite sure that two-thirds would choose the apparently superior teacher. Historians, perhaps, ought to be as suspicious of surveys of men's estimates of their own actions as they are of memoirs. In any case, this is not to deny the need for better training of college teachers. Regardless of the job market, we owe this to our graduate students and to their students.

Graduate faculties, college faculties, and graduate students owe it to themselves to read and discuss this book. Though our profession is not in dire straits because of inadequate graduate training, there is much room for improvement. The volume reviewed is a serious effort to direct us to that end.

Donald E. Queller, who received his doctoral degree at the University of Wisconsin, is associate professor of history at the University of Southern California. Currently, Professor Queller is in Venice, Italy, where he is engaged in research.

Lower California Guidebook: a Descriptive Traveler's Guide. By Peter Gerhard and Howard E. Gulick. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1962. 243 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Don Meadows.

Sometimes a revised edition of an old publication is equivalent to a new book on a specific subject. This is especially true of Gerhard and Gulick's *Lower California Guidebook* which first appeared in 1956. The book has been expanded by twenty-five pages, new and additional maps have been drawn, additional photographs are included, and a new chapter on "Places to Stay" will remove some of the inhibitions of those who want to visit Baja California but are allergic to roughing it.

Baja California has been illuminated in many ways during the last decade. Scientific and historical research has taken away much of the mystery that has shadowed the country, and numerous popular books have been written about the peninsula. Now, with the aid of the *Guidebook,* the places, people, and things below the border can become a part of personal experience. Historians and scientists will find the publication a necessity for reaching localities that need to be examined.

A *jornada* through Baja California forty years ago was a slow, uncertain undertaking. Today, with improved roads and accommodations travel is rapid and assured, but one fact is obvious when notes and maps made years ago are compared with those in the *Guidebook:* Mexican burro drivers and engineers have always followed the line of least resistance.

The new maps of the peninsular roads can be obtained as a separate publication for $1.50.

Don Meadows, author of *Baja California, 1533-1950,* and of *The American Occupation of La Paz,* is curator of the Orange County Historical Society.

The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911. By Lowell L. Blaisdell. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. 268 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

The Desert Revolution fills a small but important gap in English language works dealing with the Mexican Revolution in Baja California. Due to the connection between this phase of the Revolution and the IWW, Lowell L. Blaisdell, associate professor of history at Texas Technological College, has also made a worthy addition to the literature dealing with the conflict of labor and capital in California during the early twentieth century.

The author, in this work, develops the story of Flores Magón's Partido Liberal, the involvement of this political anarchist group in the Mexican Revolution, and IWW activities in the two Californias. As an exiled anarchist, Ricardo Flores Magón centered his activities in Los Angeles, and from that rapidly growing city directed an international incident which aroused the public and press of California during late 1910 and early 1911. Through his newspaper, *La Regeneración,* Flores Magón attracted followers from the IWW, the Socialist Party, and small labor groups, along with adventurers, anarchists, and political malcontents. The activities of these Magonistas in fomenting unrest along the border caused Flores Magón and his junta to be imprisoned in the United States for violation of neutrality laws in 1907. While in prison, Flores Magón prepared to attack the weak, isolated Díaz government in Baja California.

Following his release, Flores Magón recruited from members of the IWW and the socialist groups throughout Southern California, and began the collection of arms and ammunition. Mexicali, due to the high concentration of IWW members in the Imperial Valley and the virtually nonexistent frontier, was occupied by Magonistas in January, 1911, following a short skirmish. The impact of this success was felt more strongly in California than in Mexico. Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles *Times,* H. Harriman of the Southern Pacific and Inter-California Railroad, and J. D. Spreckels of the San Diego and Arizona Railroad, who were among the many United States landholders in the area, further inflamed antilabor feelings among the public through the press; the United States with irrigation works in the Mexicali Valley was also concerned. This opposition led to ideas of filibuster, separatism, and annexation, thus widening public interest in the Magonistas. This interest was yet furthered when, in February, Stanley Williams of the IWW attacked Algodones, and Mexican federal troops were dispatched to guard the Colorado River while United States troops patrolled the border.

Magonistas were not confined to operations in Mexicali, however, for in February and March they made raids into Chihuahua where Maderista forces were in revolt. The moderation of this latter revolutionist group led to a split between Madero and Flores Magón in April, reflected by the withdrawal of more moderate socialists from the Magonista junta. Notwithstanding, Magonistas under Rhys Pryce, an adventurer, captured El Alamo and San Quintín in May, thus establishing a transpeninsular line in Baja California. Later that month Tijuana was taken, and Mexican federal troops were isolated in Ensenada. This occupation of Tijuana led to an influx of adventurers and IWW members, thus furthering the dissension in the Magonista ranks. The resignation of Pryce due to a lack of supplies enabled a promoter of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, Dick Ferris, to lead a filibuster to Tijuana, and proclaim himself president. Although Ferris was forced back to the United States, his adventure achieved great notoriety in the California press, and the Magonistas became comical to the public.

Dissension among their own ranks, coupled with public opinion in California, led to the rapid decline of the occupying forces; the reinforcement of federal troops in Ensenada brought about the final defeat of the Magonistas in June, 1911. Following this defeat and their return to the United States, Pryce and Ferris were arrested, tried for extradition, and acquitted. Flores Magón, however, was tried and convicted for violation of the neutrality laws, and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Following his release, he was tried for violation of the Espionage Act of 1918, convicted, and sentenced to twenty years in prison where he died in 1922. His remains were taken to Mexico where he has since been honored as a hero of the Revolution.

The Desert Revolution is a well written, generally unbiased, scholarly work. The author has made extensive use of interviews, documents, newspapers, and secondary works in English and in Spanish, and has footnoted his text. This book is a valuable addition to any collection of Baja Californiana or Californiana.

MICHAEL MATHES has been a resident of Baja California, both in Colonia Vicente Guerrero and in Mexicali, and has made several trips by land throughout the peninsula. Presently, Mr. Mathes is in Spain where he is engaged in research at the Museo Naval.

The Rancho San Pedro: The Story of a Famous Rancho in Los Angeles County and of Its Owners, The Dominguez Family. By Robert Cameron Gillingham. (Los Angeles, The Dominguez Estate Company, 1961. 473 pp. 15.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Dominguez Rancho, as San Pedro is also called, has a history both varied and interesting. One of the most prominent of Southern California's ranchos, it enjoys many distinctions. It was the first land concession in Southern California, being granted in the form of a grazing permit in 1784 by Governor Pedro Fages to former soldier Juan José Domínguez, pre-dating similar nearby grants to Manuel Nieto and José María Verdugo. It was an establishment that kept fairly satisfactory records from the early period, which documents facilitated patenting of the area after United States occupation of California. It was also one of the few ranchos that materially benefited the heirs of the early owners. In this latter regard, it is significant that sizeable portions of the tract are still in the hands of several estate companies owned in great measure by heirs and direct descendants of the early owners.

Though many rancho histories have been attempted, few have yielded such interesting results. The same factors that tended to hold Rancho San Pedro together have provided fertile sources for Gillingham's research, which has been exhaustive and time consuming. Again the same community of interest in the rancho has led the Dominguez Estate Company to sponsor publication of a beautiful book. No rancho has had its history, irregardless of merit, so handsomely published nor accompanied by so many pertinent illustrations. Though there is perhaps no correlation, Author Gillingham has found the Domínguez family closet unusually free from skeletons. In fact, the work occasionally has the flavor of a publicity release, with figures of humble origin frequently cast in an uncharacteristic and heroic mold.

In general the book is a worthwhile contribution. A basic flaw is the author's failure to establish for himself or his readers a very clear frame of reference concerning the knotty problem of the Spanish-Mexican processes of land tenure and distribution. It may have been better to have avoided this subject as much as possible.

The story of San Pedro traces the control of this vast area from the early days of its first owner, through the period of administration by Manuel Gutiérrez and the assumption of control by heir Cristóbal Domínguez. A considerable slice of the original concession was taken by the Sepúlveda grant of Rancho Palos Verdes, given to that family on the basis of possession and need, rather than of juridical right. The problems of acquiring several regrants, or confirmations of title, and the acquisition of the bulk of the area by Manuel Domínguez, one of several heirs of Cristóbal, are treated most satisfactorily.

The more recent period contains an account of the fate of various shares of the grant in the hands of Manuel Domínguez' five surviving daughters. During this period there were formed various estate companies: the Watson, Carson and Del Amo Estate companies and the Francis Land Company. All seem to have been managed skillfully to yield most satisfactory dividends. Many scholars have reason to be thankful for the strength and unity of the early rancho, for this reviewer as well as the editor of the *CHSQ*, both had opportunity to do research in Spain under the auspices of the Del Amo Foundation, a fund emanating from the estate of Susana Domínguez and her husband, Dr. Gregorio Del Amo. Several of the heirs and the estate companies have engaged not only in business enterprise but also in philanthropic endeavors which have been of benefit to the community and which perpetuate the San Pedro tradition among the descendants of Juan José Domínguez.

Donald C. Cutter, who received his undergraduate and graduate degrees at the University of California at Berkeley, is professor of Western American history at the University of New Mexico. A specialist in the Hispanic era, Dr. Cutter is the author of *Malaspina in California* and of numerous articles on California history.

The History of San Diego—Time of the Bells. By Richard F. Pourade. (San Diego, Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1961. 262 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Michael E. Thurman.

The California Mission period of Richard F. Pourade's *Time of the Bells* spans the era of Franciscan development in California from 1769 to 1835. While the author's thesis of San Diego as the cradle of Western Civilization on the Pacific Coast seems overstated, the intensity of penetration permits the author to come away keenly in accomplishing his stated purpose "of making the past come alive with the freshness of personal experience." The subtitle receives a consistent but restrained management throughout Pourade's interesting synthesis. Couched in scholarly references and citations (with due credit to the public and private depositories of California), the work maintains a distinctive flavor of authenticity while still retaining the freshness of personalities.

The interesting format of this volume—including marginal photographs, documents, and maps, plus full-sized illustrations—lends itself as a collectors' item as well as a convenient reference work. Hispanic scholars will breathe easier during the consumption of the author's grammatic structure, e.g., the appearance of the tell-tale accents, hovering doggedly over inconspicuous words, and the inclusion of Spanish phrases within the original citations. *Time of the Bells* offers the dedicated scholar a panorama of contemporary descriptions and accounts concerning problems of Alta California's settlement, while at the same time there is a natural appeal for the localist or the "mission enthusiast" in clarity of style and graphic representations.

Emerging from a tour of critical foraging in *The Bells,* one encounters several discordant tones, especially in the early chapters which survey the founding of Alta California. Between chapters I and VIII, Pourade has overgeneralized the details of Spanish naval activities, while in the later chapters, especially those chronicling "The Boston Ships," and "The Hide Droghers" the details are close and complete. Scarcity of source material is one matter, but according to Pourade's own professed use of manuscripts in Mexico, it is difficult to justify his weak presentation of Spanish naval activities from 1767 to 1790—clearly the weakest link of this work. Some of the author's early developments, for example, include a consistent reference to the *San Antonio*—a packetboat which in contemporary manuscripts is always entitled *El Príncipe*—and then we read of "the unhappy *San Carlos*," a personification referring to the crew members. Concerning Vicente Vila, who commanded the *San Carlos* from La Paz to San Diego in 1769, we are told that he held the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Navy, but he was actually a *piloto segundo* and never breveted to the rank of commissioned officer. The Hispanic scholar is further annoyed at the glaring absence of Juan Pérez, captain of *El Príncipe* in its 1769 voyage to San Diego, especially since his crew suffered the same misery as Vila's. The omission of the famed Filipinas-mariner is particularly significant because Juan Pérez has been characterized by many authorities as the outstanding naval figure in early California history.

The pattern of shallow presentation for Spanish naval support continues through at least five of the first seven chapters. The San Blas supply system and the Naval Department vessels deserve a more adequate treatment in this volume purporting to chronicle the establishment of California missions. And finally, one wonders why Pourade's scanty emphasis on the *Reglamento of 1773* for both Californias and the Department of San Blas was not deeply grounded upon the authoritative works of California masters including Bolton, Chapman, and the contemporary Franciscan historian, Father Maynard Geiger.

MICHAEL THURMAN, who has specialized in Spanish California history, has recently returned from Spain where as a Del Amo Foundation Fellow he spent a year in archival research. Currently, Mr. Thurman is an assistant professor of history at East Texas State College, Commerce, Texas.

The Sierra. By W. Storrs Lee. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962. 350 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John W. Reith.

This is a hard book to classify. The title, *The Sierra*, indicates that it is about the Sierra Nevada Mountains. In a sense it is, but only to use the mountains as a backdrop against which to recount a variety of anecdotes of California history. There are chapters, notably Chapter V, "But More Particularly the Widows"; Chapter VI, "Throw Down That Treasure Box, Sir"; and Chapter VII, "The B'ar Always Stands His Ground"; in which the mountains are immaterial and the stories related might be in any book on California.

Perhaps the author was not really trying to write a book about the mountains at all; there is no preface or introduction to indicate what he is trying to do. Nor, for that matter, does the introductory chapter, titled "The Earth Heaved and Tossed," help much. The chapter starts out with a description of the great 1872 earthquake (with two pages devoted to its discussion in the Sacramento *Bee!)*; continues with a poor and inexact discussion of the formation of the mountains; elaborates volcanism in the Sierras—with three pages devoted to Mt. Lassen (which is *not* in the Sierras but in the Cascades); and finishes with a discussion of forest fires. I keep wondering how forest fires got into a chapter supposedly devoted to earth movement. There are also a number of statements which, if not downright mistakes, are thorough distortions. Two on page 30 are noteworthy: "Mount Whitney, the highest point in the land, overlooking the lowest point 14,777 feet below" (you can't see Death Valley from Whitney); and "titanic glaciers grinding away at the upper heights" (there are *no* active glaciers in the Sierras. Palisades Glacier is technically an ice field and has no movement).

The book has a beautiful dedication to the Sierra Club: "whose members for almost three quarters of a century have served as guardians of the Sierra Nevada Wilderness, as pioneers in developing its recreational resources and as champions in the conquest of its heights." But there is nothing except fragmentary references to the Sierra Club (although John Muir flits in and out of the pages) and there is no coherent discussion of the Club's origin, historical functions, or its current day activities. It is a strange gap in a book which details so many odd items about the history of man in the Sierras.

Actually, the book is best described as a collection of odd items of history as well as well worn stories. The author has done considerable research in out-of-the-way publications and has woven the material together into an easy flowing narrative. Many quotations are used, and the sources are listed at the end of the book. It is unfortunate that the research in other fields such as geology, geography, biology, and ecology were not as thorough; no references are given in these fields.

JOHN W. REITH, a Ph.D. graduate from Northwestern University and head of the department of geography at the University of Southern California, is a specialist in California geography.

The Letters of José Señán, O.F.M. Translated by Paul D. Nathan and edited by Lesley Byrd Simpson. (San Francisco, Published for the Ventura County Historical Society by John Howell—Books, 1962. 178 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by Florian Guest, O.F.M.

Father José Francisco de Paula Señán came to California as a missionary in 1787 and remained in service here until his death in 1823. He saw the development of the missions under the leadership of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, enjoyed the golden age of their prosperity in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and witnessed the first years of their decline. Twice he served as president of the missions, from 1812 to 1814 and from 1819 to 1823. He was stationed at Mission San Buenaventura from 1797 until his death. His collected correspondence is here published in English translation under the auspices of the Ventura County Historical Society.

The first letter, an extensive report to the Marqués de Branciforte, is one of no small historical significance. In discussing the relationship between the towns and the missions, it explains one of the most important reasons why the towns never succeeded in developing, namely, their domination by the presidios. Actually, the military regime under which the towns lived was both an asset and a liability. On the one hand, it ensured civic order and dispensed justice impartially. But on the other (and this is the point the letter makes) it stifled initiative and subjected the townsmen to crushing economic injustice. Another document on the same theme is the letter of Father Isidoro Alonzo Salazar to the Marqués de Branciforte, College of San Fernando, Mexico, May 11, 1796, *Archivo General de la Nación*, Mexico, *Californias* 49. The two letters should be studied together. No document of equal importance occurs in this collection. Other topics treated in the letters of José Señán are the ranchos, trade in otter pelts and tallow, the interruption of commerce by the Mexican Revolution, the importance of free trade for the development of California, the invasion of mission lands by Mojave Indians, Bouchard's attack on the California coast, the support of the presidios by the missions, and the difficulties involved in mission administration. Most of these topics are discussed more extensively in other sources. The letters abound in details of human interest.

In general, the translation is excellent. Señán's Spanish is rendered into clear, graceful, and diomatic English. Copious and learned notes explain the frequent allusions which occur in the text. The introduction presents a lively sketch of the missionary's life, labors, and personality. Prefatory comments on the historical value of certain letters are pertinent and illuminating. There is a helpful glossary of Spanish words and phrases. The binding is handsome, the print clear and attractive.

Splendid though the translation is, however, there are certain aspects of it that one finds puzzling. Was the book intended for the scholar or the general reader? If for the former, why were some sentences omitted, as on pp. 15 and 18? If for the latter, why was the Latin left untranslated in so many letters? Like many priests even today, Father Señán had the habit of embellishing his correspondence with occasional bits of Latin, sometimes with no more than a phrase or two, sometimes with several lines. On p. 136, for example, a translation of the three Latin sentences is necessary if one is to understand the sense of the fourth paragraph. Sometimes, as on pp. 108 and 109, Señán culls his Latin from the prayers of the liturgy; at others he quotes passages from Sacred Scripture, as on p. 139 where he refers to the occasion when Christ washed the feet of his apostles (John 13:9). Here one would normally expect a translation and a footnote as well. On the other hand, one discovers that in the letters on pp. 152 and 159 the Latin tags were rendered into English. It is unfortunate that this policy was not followed throughout the entire work.

Although the translation, generally speaking, is a model of precision, one comes upon occasional passages in which improvement is necessary. In the letter beginning on p. 49 the Spanish abbreviation *mrs* stands for *maravedís*. Hence the translation should read "8 *maravedís*," not "plus 8 more" In the same letter (see note on p. 50) the correct transcription of the Spanish abbreviation seems to be "gs," not "qs," and it means *granos*, not *maravedís*. A *grano* was a small coin worth one twelfth of a silver *real*. Hence the translation should be "11½ *granos*." In the list of goods on p. 36 a *palio procesional* is not a processional robe but a canopy used in processions with the Blessed Sacrament. The processional robe is the *capa,* which should be translated as cope, not cape. A *frontal* is not a frontpiece but an ornamental cloth hung around the front of the altar. *Manguitos* were not wristlets but sleevelike cloths into which the cross-bearer put his hands and with which he held the cross in processions. Both the *frontal* and the *manguitos* were the color of the vestments used at Mass. Brief consultation with an ecclesiastical scholar might have helped to avoid these liturgical errors.

On pp. 15 and 18 an ellipsis indicates the omission of material that might have been translated. The reviewer inspected the letter from Señán to Viñals, San Buenaventura, June 6, 1806, and found that the following sentence had been left out: "*Con esto serán inexcusables si no alargan la dulzura de la leche Anglo-americana a la que creo no son muy pocos los aficionados, y que como niños buscan madre, o ama que se la de Dios quiera surta efecto el proyecto del Perulero.*" If a period is supplied before the word *Dios,* a study of the sentence in its context suggests an English rendition along the following lines: "Given this condition, it will be inexcusable if they do not drink more copiously of the Anglo-American milk, of which so many are so fond, and which they seek as from a mother or a nurse. May God crown with success the enterprise of the wealthy merchant." It is regrettable that the translator bypassed lines so useful for an appreciation of Father Señán's opinion on free trade in California.

In the letter on p. 18 a small paragraph of two lines was omitted, and in that on p. 39 another of five lines was left out. In neither case were the sentences important. It is possible that these small defects were the result of an oversight in transcription.

In the note on p. 19 Concepción Argüello does not seem to have been as comely as the pathos of her romance might lead one to imagine. And in the note on p. 134 the statements of La Pérouse cannot justly be described as unqualified praise of the missions.

It is unfortunate that the editor, in treating the correspondence between José Señán and José de la Guerra, had recourse to the transcripts in the Bancroft Library instead of the originals in the De la Guerra Collection. As a result of this oversight, forty-two letters of José Señán are omitted from this translation.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings that have been mentioned, students of California history owe a sincere debt of gratitude to the translator and editor of these letters of José Señán. It is to be hoped that in a future edition the imperfections the reviewer has indicated might receive attention, minor and incidental though some of them are.

FLORIAN GUEST, O.F.M., a member of the Franciscan Fathers of California and of the Academy of American Franciscan History, is a graduate of San Luis Rey College, Saint Louis University, the Catholic University, and the University of Southern California. Father Florian has recently returned from Rome where he was engaged in research on California missionary activity.

The Golden Road. By Felix Riesenberg, Jr. (New York, McGraw Hill, 1962. American Trails Series. 315 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by John A. Hawgood.

This "Story of California's Spanish Mission Trail" is a disappointing book, not because it is bad (which it is not) but because it could have been so much better. The author died after completing his manuscript but before it went through the press. But for this unfortunate circumstance two such highly-skilled writers as the late Mr. Riesenberg and the editor of the series in which the book appears, Mr. A. B. Guthrie, Jr., would surely have tidied up loose ends and pulled the whole work together. As it is, it lacks "tautness" and is too miscellaneous. Mr. Riesenberg tells us a great deal about "The Golden Road" of the Spanish Mission Trail to California (a slightly confusing title which may lead some book-purchasers to expect another book about Samarkand), even to describing some of the litter that was left on it, but he may hardly be said to have recreated its atmosphere or its high romance. Everything found (or lost) on that road is here, from Father Serra's spectacles (p. 24) to hot rods and "go karts" (p. 277), but it all comes out rather blurred. The effect is kaleidoscopic rather than stereoscopic. The book has great interest for anyone who is prepared to dip in and out of it, to take it, as it were, in small doses, but for reading from cover to cover it is confusing and tedious. To concentrate so much on the anecdotes and the trivia of the California Mission Trail, as Mr. Riesenberg has done, is to disregard the epic qualities of the story. The book is an over-stuffed rag-bag, bursting at every seam. The contents are bright and bizarre at times, but there is no discernible pattern. Mr. Riesenberg's scholarship is not always impeccable. His pre-history (in the first chapter) is distinctly impressionistic. After his "Santa Rosa Man" 30,000 years old "at least," one almost expected him to dredge out of the La Brea pits a *homo hollywoodensis* who constituted the true "missing link." He also gives currency to Gordon Eckholm's highly suspect neo-diffusionism.

The Gold Rush chapter (pp. 106-124) is full of errors. Frémont was not "pardoned" (p. 106) after his court-martial; "murder" did not indubitably "accompany the savage feasting" at the Donner Pass in 1846 (p. 107); Lansford Warren Hastings was not just a "four-flushing temperance lecturer" (p. 107); Sutterville is confused with Fort Helvetia (p. 109). A similar carelessness about checking facts is to be found elsewhere (e.g., "Able Sterns" for Abel Stearns, p. 78). One suspects that Mr. Riesenberg accepted everything that he read as true just because it was in print. In a laudable attempt to be comprehensive (he even includes a spirited disquisition on contemporary freeway planning and policy) he becomes unduly encyclopaedic. Much of his material should have been sifted out of his narrative.

Mr. Riesenberg's bibliography (pp. 290-302) is extensive but peculiar. Various mis-spellings (e.g., "Hittle" for Hittell) and mis-datings (e.g., Frémont, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, 1881) make one wonder how many of the books cited he actually read. Most of the best authorities are included, but then (without any word of warning) so are preposterous books like Quigley's *Irish Race in California* (1878). William Heath Davis' "*Sixy Years in California, 1831-1846* [*sic*], 1889," is mentioned, but Andrew Rolle's biography of Davis, *An American in California* (San Marino, 1955), is not. Rodman Paul's *California Gold* and Frank Soule's *Annals of San Francisco* are other surprising omissions. So is R. G. Cleland's *Cattle on a Thousand Hills.*

John A. Hawgood, who received the D.Lit. from the University of London and the Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg, is professor of Modern History at the University of Birmingham in England. A specialist in Western and California history, Professor Hawgood has recently authored *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California,* published by the Henry E. Huntington Library.

The California Trail: An Epic with Many Heroes. By George R. Stewart. The American Trails Series. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962. 341 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by Earl Pomeroy.

Dale Morgan was probably right in saying, as he said at the Conference on the History of Western America at Santa Fé in 1961, that there was still more to learn and were many more books to be written from diaries of the trail across the plains: "historians of the West, who are less fond of hard work than might be supposed, have made small use of the wealth of information contained in overland journals." Yet most of the books recount a familiar story, rearranging rather than fundamentally reinterpreting it. George Stewart's latest book is familiar in large part because he has written and rewritten the history of the Donner Party and edited a diary and the reminiscences of Moses Schallenberger, which he quotes at length (pp. 77-80), as well as because Morgan, Jay Monaghan, and Irene D. Paden, among others, have told much of the same story. None of them has chosen to concentrate, as Stewart does here, on the development of the trail, or trails, a chapter to each year from 1841 through 1849, and another on the fifties, with additional chapters on "how they traveled" and "where they went." The device is as obvious, and as effective, as the arrangement of some of Stewart's other books; he sets forth a limited story with the drama of simple, clear narrative prose. Like Mrs. Paden, he has followed the trails on his own travels, which he briefly refers to (pp. 320-21) in a concluding chapter; her books would have made easier reading, though perhaps less of a contribution, if she had chosen similarly to confine herself in writing to one theme or dimension.

Other books on the trail will be worth reading—J. S. Holliday's, shortly to appear, which concerns itself more with the purposes and character of the forty-niners than with their routes, and Morgan's, which will, we may suppose, build on the mastery of the sources that he showed in his edition of *The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard . . .* (1959). We have come a long way from the anachronisms of Archer B. Hulbert's *Forty-niners* (1931) and the useful accumulations of H. H. Bancroft. But Stewart's book has an honorable place in the literature, even if some readers may wish that he had not subordinated the equipment of scholarship to the point of suppressing practically all footnotes and restricting the discussion of sources to two pages. He does make some other remarks that fellow historians will particularly appreciate, about John C. Frémont, "an early advocate of 'pure research,' not wishing to be concerned with anything so practical as the working out of the route for wagons" (p. 104), and about unusual episodes that get disproportionate space in the diaries ("rarity gets mentioned while the commonplace thing does not" [p. 258]), or that get none at all (on the subjects of The Prairie Fire and The Beleaguered Train, "we have not had them because I have found neither of them in the documents" [p. 322]). There are useful maps but no photographs, which may be no loss inasmuch as it is so difficult to reproduce the setting of century-old trails on the desert, with or without the scars of modern improvements.

This volume is by far the best in the series that I have seen.

EARL POMEROY is professor of history at the University of Oregon. A specialist on travellers in the West, Dr. Pomeroy is the author of *In Search of the Golden West* and of numerous articles in historical journals.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Mesa Grande Country, by Clarence Russell Quinn and Elena Quinn (Downey, California, Elena Quinn, 1962. 90 pp. $10.00), is an unusual piece of composition and typework. The selectivity of the fine photographs of Edward H. Davis, former photographer for the Museum of the American Indian in New York, marks a unique contribution to the ethnic and cultural history of the Mesa Grande area in the San Diego back country. In addition to the superb photographs, the Quinns have succeeded in bringing together choice excerpts from the 1874 *Shenandoah Mineral District Journal,* and in selecting a valuable reprint (which appeared in the September 22, 1907, San Diego *Union)* of a scholarly account by an eyewitness to the ceremony of the last Eagle Dance performed by the Mesa Grande Indians.

What may be considered the definitive work on the history of the formative years of the Church of the Nazarene will be found in Timothy L. Smith's *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, Missouri, Nazarene Publishing House, 1962. 414 pp. $4.95). The history of the expansion of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Church of the Nazarene in Southern California has been enriched with much worthy material. Chapters covering church personalities of the day, particularly those associated with the University of Southern California, Pasadena and Chapman colleges, provide added source materials on these institutions.

From the words of the immigrant Danish poet, Adam Dan, "We came not empty-handed, but brought a rich inheritance," one senses how aptly this applies to the immigrants from China of past years. The struggle against relentless obstacles, heavy sacrifices, and tremendous prejudice is extremely well depicted in S. W. Kung's *Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1962. 352 pp. $7.50). The many advances in the field of cultural and medical research by Sino-Americans merit recognition, and Dr. Kung presents this facet under "Contributions and Achievements." Graphically depicted are the many historic, but unpleasant, cases of litigation and problems faced by first- and second-generation Chinese. Sixty-three pages of notes and bibliography are but a slight indication of the dimension of thoroughness with which Dr. Kung has approached his work.

Quoth the Raven: a Little Journey Into the Primitive, by O. H. Salisbury (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1962. 275 pp.), highlights the teaching years of the Salisburys in Klawock, Alaska. Well illustrated and informative, this *Little Journey Into the Primitive* depicts an era of the 1920's before the onrush of tourists into the beautiful and almost unknown Alaskan waterfront areas. The Salisbury journal is a contribution to the lore and legends of the Thlingets of southeastern Alaska.

Early Travellers in Mexico (1534-1816), compiled by William Mayer (Mexico, D. F., 1961. 176 pp. $4.00), and available at Dawson's Book Shop, contains selections ranging from the diary of Thomas Blake of 1534 to that of William Davis Robinson of 1816. Included are the writings of Hawks, Martínez, Franck, Kino, Baegert, Lieutenant Cook, and Baron von Humboldt. Mayer's selections of these descriptive accounts of Mexico, plus splendid maps and illustrations, make for a fine piece of work that is well worth the $4.00 price.

Southern Pacific Steam Locomotives: A Pictorial Anthology of Western Railroading, compiled by Donald Duke (San Marino, California, Pacific Railway Journal, 1962, 88 pp. $4.95), will please the most ardent railroad enthusiast as well as the arm-chair traveller. Filled with one hundred and fifteen clear and instructive illustrations, this anthology depicts the days of the High Irons in a grand manner.

Another anthology, *The Californians: Writings of Their Past and Present*, edited by Robert Pearsall and Ursula Spier Erickson (San Francisco, Hesperian House, 1961. 2 volumes. $10.00), spans a wide variety of selectivity. Volume Two contains a somewhat heavy emphasis on the "avant-garde" or "beatnik" style of writing.

Guns on the Early Frontier: A History of Firearms from Colonial Times Through the Years of the Western Fur Trade, by Carl P. Russell (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962. 396 pp. $2.45), is a paperback reprint of the 1957 edition and well worth having. Russell's bibliography, notes, and glossary of terminology of firearms will be most welcome in libraries concerned with Western Americana.

A title that is a misnomer will be found in *Early Days in Los Angeles*, by Richard J. Robinson and Joseph F. Ferris, Jr. (New York, Noble and Noble Publishers, 1962. 118 pp. $2.45). Prepared as a textbook for the elementary grade schools, it leaves the challenge of better prepared and more informative textbooks unanswered. The years of Los Angeles' history, from the era of the La Brea Tar Pits to 1961, are irregularly spanned, leaving wide gaps of important formative historic years untouched. A sketchy presentation of history to be presented to the inquisitive minds of our younger generation certainly will not do much to stimulate an awareness of the color and rich historic lore of their own community.

In *The Mountain Men*, by Wyatt Blassingame and Richard Glendinning (New York, Franklin Watts, Inc., 1962. 166 pp. $2.95), will be found a collection of short stories excerpted from many sources and written in the first-person for readers in the twelve to sixteen-year-age group.

Some fourteen hundred letters of Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson Wilson, carefully edited by their daughter Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, have been brought together in *The Priceless Gift: The Love Letters of Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962. 324 pp. $6.95). They are the love letters of a man who rose to the highest office in these United States and of Ellen Axson, who kept carefully in the background as homemaker and wife.

"Good things come in small packages" could easily apply to the three splendid publications issued from Reed College, Oregon, and edited by Dorothy O. Johansen. Notable among the recent titles are *Voyage of the Columbia: Around the World with John Boit, 1790-1793,* by Dana Small (1960. 92 pp.); *The Sandal and the Cave: The Indians of Oregon,* by L. S. Cressman (1962. 81 pp.); and *March of the Volunteers: Soldiering with Lewis and Clark,* by Constance Bordwell (1960. 112 pp.). Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy and published by the Champoeg Press, these Beaver Books of Portland, Oregon, are well produced and edited, and contribute to the growing store of materials pertaining to the Pacific Northwest.

The director of the American Association for State and Local History, Clement M. Silvestro, and Richard D. Williams have prepared a *Report on the Survey of the State and Local Historical Agencies in the United States.* They have brought together pertinent facts garnered from various reports and tours throughout the country as to the needs and plans of these agencies. The report will prove of considerable value to leaders and workers interested in the preservation of the historic past of their community or state.

A full dollar's worth and then some is to be had in the new series of publications coming from the Press of the Territorian, at Portales, New Mexico. For the *aficionados* of the New Mexican scene two of the titles by Peter Hertzog will hold especial appeal—*Old Town Albuquerque* (30 pp.) and *La Fonda, The Inn of Santa Fe* (34 pp.).

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by William E. Holston

BOOKS

Baird, P. J., ed. *From Out of the West.* Stockton, Lantern Press, 1962. $3.50

Balls, Edward K. *Early Uses of California Plants.* Berkeley, University of California, 1962. $1.75

Beebe, Lucius, and Charles Clegg. *When Beauty Rode the Rails.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1962. $6.95

Block, Eugene B. *Great Stagecoach Robbers of the West.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1962. $4.50

Bowen, Oliver E. *Rocks and Minerals of the San Francisco Bay Region.* Berkeley, University of California, 1962. $1.50

Britt, Albert. *Toward the Western Ocean.* Barre, Massachusetts, Barre Publishing Co., 1962. $5.00

Cotton, Oscar W. *The Good Old Days.* New York, Exposition Press, 1962. $4.75

Daley, Walt, ed. *San Francisco, Says It Isn't So.* San Carlos, Nourse, 1962. $3.95

Dawson, Glen. *California Authors.* Los Angeles, Dawson's, 1962. $1.00

Fenin, George N., and William K. Everson. *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama.* New York, Orion Press, 1962. $12.00

Florin, Lambert. *Ghost Town Album.* Seattle, Superior, 1962. $12.50

French, Warren. *Frank Norris.* New York, Twayne, 1962. $3.50

Gardner, Erle Stanley. *The Hidden Heart of Baja.* New York, Morrow, 1962. $7.50

Gilliam, Harold Thompson. *Weather of the San Francisco Bay Region.* Berkeley, University of California, 1962. $1.50

Goetzmann, William H., ed. *The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie.* Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1962. $4.50

Grodinsky, Julius. *Transcontinental Railway Strategy. 1869-1893.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1962. $7.50

Hedgpeth, Joel Walker. *Introduction to Seashore Life of the San Francisco Bay Region and the Coast of Northern California.* Berkeley, University of California, 1962. $1.95

Higgins, Marguerite. *Jessie Benton Frémont.* Boston, Houghton, 1962. $2.20

Howard, Arthur David. *Evolution of the Landscape of the San Francisco Bay Region.* Berkeley, University of California, 1962. $1.50

Johnston, Bernice Eastman. *California's Gabrielino Indians.* Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1962. $5.00 (bound), $3.75 (paper)

Lee, William Storrs. *The Great California Deserts.* New York, Putnam, 1962. $5.95

MacCann, Richard Dyer. *Hollywood in Transition.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1962. $3.75

McCoy, Ester. *Modern California Houses.* New York, Reinhold, 1962. $12.50

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In Memoriam

DAVID MCCANDLESS MCKELL

Colonel David McCandless McKell, a staunch member of the California Historical Society since 1947, died in Chillicothe, Ohio, in the city of his family home, on January 10, 1962, shortly after the celebration of his eightieth birthday, happily arranged by his devoted wife, Edna McGinnis McKell, with practically all of his local family in attendance.

Funeral services were conducted at the old family home of his parents. Survivors, besides his wife, are a daughter, Mrs. William A. Hadly of Los Gatos, and son, Dr. McCandless McKell, Jr., of Saratoga; twelve grandchildren and seven great grandchildren.

Colonel McKell was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1881 and was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1904. He fought in World War I and was commander of the Twelfth Field Artillery Regiment of the Second Division. On being ordered to Fort Winfield Scott, he and Mrs. McKell liked San Francisco so well that they decided to settle there.

Colonel McKell attended San Francisco Law School at night. Upon completion of the course he asked for retirement from the Army, and passed his examination for admission to the California Bar Association in 1922. He practiced law and was instructor at the San Francisco Law School till 1938. Then, on the death of his brother, Colonel McKell took over the Chillicothe, Ohio, Telephone Company as president, moving his residence to Chillicothe. This office he held till his death in January of 1962 at the age of eighty.

Ten months ago, as the January edition of *The American Book Collector* was going to press, the subject of the sixth in a series of articles on American Bibliophiles died at the height of an outstanding career as a book connoisseur and collector. Subsequent articles, eulogies, and essays of appreciation testified to the veneration in which the inhabitants of the antiquarian book world held Colonel David McCandless McKell. During his many years as a collector of medieval manuscripts, children's books, and prints, he demonstrated a protean knowledge remarkable in a man who was in every sense of the word a thorough-going scholar and never a dilettante. This catholicity of taste in conjunction with the keenness of his legalistic turn of mind rarely failed to charm and astonish those who knew and admired him. Such paradoxes seem to combine the quixotic with a substantial founding in realism; but the combination in Colonel McKell's case, though unique, was far from paradoxical. It was the fascinating substance of the man to possess both a keen, analytical single-mindedness and a boundless curiosity. Perhaps this is what made him a bookman of unusual qualifications: the capacity to become intrigued with a specific area of interest and the tenacity to pursue it with the relentlessness of a bullet to its bullseye. These same qualities were apparent in his dealings with those who knew and loved him. His friendship with scholars and dealers was predicated on the nature of a true gentleman—at once exact and inquiring, interested in others and, therefore, enormously interesting to his fellows. He was a man who was never limited in his relationships with those he liked or enjoyed; just as he could never be limited or confined by the books he collected—a condition to which many of his fellow bibliophiles rapidly succumb.

It becomes apparent that Colonel McKell's taste and discernment in collecting are not a matter of personal conjecture when we examine in review the exhibits of his collection that have been formally shown at such institutions as Ohio State University, the University of Kentucky Library, at The Grolier Club, and the Pierpont Morgan Library. The eloquence of the testimony is overwhelming. It, nevertheless, never deterred the colonel from granting the request of any scholar to examine his collection. In this respect he was gracious and generous in the extreme and contributed with delight to the broadening of a young book collector's experience when he could. He was equally as generous in his gifts to institutions, and many foundations have been greatly enriched by the books and prints he has placed in their collections.

This remarkable man whose career as an officer of the Army, an attorney, a teacher of law, president of one of the few privately owned telephone companies in the country, and, most particularly, one of the most erudite of bookmen, can be an example to us all that the life of a man of imagination and enterprise never need be circumscribed by one set pattern of rigid rule other than the one he follows as an impeccable gentleman and scholar regardless of the metier in which he exercises it.

When he found it necessary to move his headquarters to Ohio about twenty years ago, his knowledge of children's books and old world books and manuscripts, gradually put him in touch with the Morgan Library of New York City, and soon brought about his appointment as a Fellow of The Morgan Library. Then shortly before his death, he was elected to membership in the Morgan Library Council.

Perhaps the most outstanding monument to his memory, is the Ross County Historical Society to which he has been the foremost contributor. It is filled with many historical documents and books from his personal collection. Obituary notices from local papers and from Ohio State University were profuse with accounts of the great loss suffered by the passing of such a faithful and loyal American who had given so much of himself in this channel of a useful activity.

WARREN R. HOWELL.

PHILIP R. FAYMONVILLE

On March 29, 1962, Brigadier General Philip R. Faymonville, United States Army (retired), was found dead in his home. Thus came to an end the career of a man whose modest, shy character obscured a distinguished record of a national servant. A virtual invalid during his last two years, he lived in complete obscurity, avoiding all his life publicity or even knowledge of existence.

Philip R. Faymonville was a native Californian, born on April 30, 1888. After graduating from Stanford University in 1908, he went to West Point Military Academy where he graduated in 1912 with the rank of second lieutenant in the Coast Artillery Corps and was given the degree of Bachelor of Science. He served on the Mexican border, and in 1915 was sent to the Philippines. Three years later he went to Russia as chief ordnance officer of the United States forces in Siberia under the command of Major General William S. Graves. Here he also served as judge advocate of the forces and as member of the Inter-Allied War Materials Committee, an experience which profoundly influenced him as to his views concerning Russia, Japan, and their relations with the United States. While in Siberia Faymonville took part in the repatriation of the stranded Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, and later was given charge of the war prisoner repatriation in Germany. In January, 1922, he was sent to Chita, capital of the short-lived Far Eastern republic, as military observer, a post which further enhanced his fear of forthcoming Japanese aggression in Asia.

In May, 1923, Faymonville was assigned to Tokyo as military attaché. Three years later he returned to the United States where he devoted himself to advanced military training at the ordnance school at Watertown Arsenal in Massachusetts. He went to the Army Industrial College from which he was graduated in 1933, and made a study of chemical and tank warfare methods at Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland. In due course he came to be regarded as one of the outstanding ordnance experts in the United States. With the recognition of the Soviet government in July, 1934, Faymonville went to Moscow as our military attaché under Ambassador William C. Bullitt, in which capacity he served until 1939. He returned to Washington to serve on the technical staff of the chief of ordnance, though not for long: as a recognized student of Russian affairs who had mastered the language fluently, Lieutenant Colonel Faymonville, who was soon promoted to Brigadier General, was sent to Moscow in September, 1941, as chief of the United States supply mission to the Soviet Union. When in November it was ruled in Washington that the Soviet Union was eligible for lend-lease, Faymonville came to play a vital part in administering military aid.

Throughout his lifetime Faymonville was an extremely reserved man. His military training and experience cultivated in him the quality of a superb listener. I well recall an episode that might cast light upon his character. In his Memoirs or "behind-the-scene-story," Admiral William H. Standley, later ambassador to Moscow, devoted an entire chapter to Faymonville in which he subjects Faymonville to severe criticism. I asked Phil after reading the account why he did not present his side of the "behind-the-scene-story." He looked at me with his sharp eyes, pleasantly smiled and after some hesitance simply replied: "I never debate publicly any Peglerian interpretation of history."

On various occasions I have endeavored to find out the nature of the difficulties he had encountered with various members of the War, Navy or State Departments. He usually smiled pleasantly, uttered a few innocuous remarks and said mainly nothing. I ended the inquiry once by saying: "Phil, you are an American von Moltke who is endowed with the skill of being silent in several languages." As military attaché in Moscow he often exasperated the press by his reticence to reveal any sought information. His entire life seemed to have been guided by a single philosophical principle: learn as much as possible and utter as little as possible. This characteristic caused much irritation among many of his official associates.

From the day of his graduation from West Point Faymonville held the firm conviction that a conflict between the United States and Japan could not be averted; furthermore, that in the forthcoming conflict Russia would be bound to fight on the side of the United States. It was for this reason that he devoted himself to the study of both languages, Japanese and Russian. His knowledge of Russian as well as his wide acquaintance with Soviet officials often caused entirely unjustified suspicions; some of his foes, jealous of ability to obtain information and refusal to divulge it to any one but properly authorized persons, labeled him as the "Bolshevik Major." Irritated by this Admiral Standley later remarked: "If I were a captain of a ship or admiral of a division and you [Faymonville] were one of my officers I'd know what to do. I'd say, 'Damn it all, Faymonville, do what you are told or else'." But since on this occasion Standley was neither captain nor admiral but Ambassador, he was reduced to helpless fulmination. During the first year of the Russian-German conflict Faymonville held the unpopular view that the purges that preceded the war would have little effect upon the outcome of the war and that the Red Army would fight to the last ditch despite all adversities. This brought him into conflict with many of his superior adversaries who eventually succeeded in obtaining Faymonville's recall from Moscow. Despite his experience and knowledge he was assigned to some minor tasks with the technical staff of the chief of ordnance.

After his retirement in 1948 Faymonville devoted himself to many civic duties in San Francisco. He served on the grand jury, was an ardent supporter of the opera, participated in discussion groups on world affairs with a small circle of friends, and had a keen interest in his alma mater, Stanford University. He was extremely fond of students, helped many of them financially and spent many hours with young people on the campus. Stanford University benefited by his last will while the Hoover Institute inherited the bulk of his library which he carefully collected during his lifetime.

As passions subside and personal sentiment give way to impartiality, the war year records and accounts of lend-lease aid to Russia during the crucial years will be revaluated, and Faymonville will appear in a different light, far more favorable than has been cast by current writers. His genuine patriotism, unquestionable integrity, and his unselfish devotion to civic affairs call for a well-deserved tribute to an able soldier, administrator, citizen, and, above all, a Man in the noblest sense, Philip R. Faymonville.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR.

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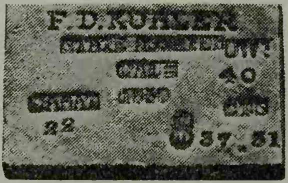

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Higher Education in California

By GLENN S. DUMKE

ALTHOUGH FEW PEOPLE outside of the field of higher education noticed it, 1962 was significant in the history of colleges and universities in California. In that year the British government appointed a commission of investigation headed by Lord Lionel Robbins, professor of economics at the University of London, to survey American higher education with the aim of determining how the United States has been able to solve the problem of quantity, as well as accomplishing much in the direction of educational quality. One of Britain's problems, which is common to most of Western Europe, is that too small a percentage of the college-age youth has higher educational opportunity, and this fact is beginning to trouble governments which are increasingly aware of the necessity of a well-educated citizenry in order to maintain a given society's position in a highly-competitive world. The Robbins Commission was notable in two respects. First, it is unusual for the British to ask the United States for advice about anything and, secondly, the commission began its investigations, not on the East Coast among more venerable ivy league institutions, but rather in California. And in California the two sets of institutions which attracted much of its interest were the state colleges and the junior colleges, because, as Lord Robbins, expressed it, these institutions seem to have developed solutions to the problem of quantity which were worthy of investigation.

GLENN S. DUMKE is the chancellor of the California State Colleges. He received his A.B. and A.M. from Occidental College and his Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles. Before accepting his present position, Dr. Dumke was president of San Francisco State College. A frequent contributor to scholarly historical journals, he is author of *Boom of the Eighties,* and editor of *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California* and of the *Mexican Gold Trail: The Journal of a Forty-Niner.*

Chancellor Dumke delivered this address at the Fourteenth Annual Regional Meeting of *Phi Alpha Theta,* the National Honor Society in History.

The visit of the Robbins Commission is not the only recent evidence that higher education in California has achieved certain successes which merit attention and interest. The Master Plan for Higher Education, which was put into law in 1960, has attracted wide attention over the nation, and several states are now asking questions of California educators and starting their own "master plans."

California's higher education, therefore, deserves the attention of the historian and analyst, even though it is changing so rapidly that its most recent developments make a broad perspective somewhat difficult. Yet there are certain basic characteristics and trends which may be studied, even though percentages, proportions, relationships, and quantitative data are rapidly changing.

One of the basic factors in California's higher educational development is its geographic location as a western state. The eastern half of the nation has a much larger proportion of its young people attending private than public colleges and universities. In the West the reverse is true. This, of course, is a natural result of America's westward movement, and is due primarily to the fact that public support for higher education began at a time when the frontier line was leaping the western plains to the Pacific Coast. Therefore, although California has its share of private colleges and universities, the bulk of its students are attending public institutions and, although the numbers of students in both private and public institutions will inevitably increase, the proportion of students attending public colleges will also increase, and has in fact been increasing steadily over the past several years.

A second factor in California's higher educational development has been a historic friendliness on the part of the California citizenry toward higher education in general. When Middle Westerners were populating southern California during the great land boom of the 1880's, they brought with them their religious affiliations, their loyalty to a church organization, and their respect for the small denominational private college, which has been so much a part of the cultural picture of the Middle West. Moreover, the fact that California developed as a frontier created a situation in which its earliest population increments possessed a ready-made thirst for knowledge and culture. The predominantly male population of northern California during the gold rush evidenced this tendency in its support of a unique and creative type of journalism, in its enthusiasm for the theatre, in its willingness to pay for the visits of outstanding thespians and concert artists, and in its general enthusiasm for schools of all kinds. This willingness to support the basic principle of education has maintained itself through the years, and currently the state is spending more than 40 per cent of its more than $2 billion budget on education in general, including proportionately large amounts for higher education as such.

Thirdly, the population growth of California has itself stimulated the development of colleges and universities. The prosperous middle-aged and retired people who formed the bulk of the immigrants of earlier decades often respected education because they themselves had been deprived of it. More recent newcomers have been largely young people with families engaged in industries which require a degree of technical proficiency and, consequently, educational background. Both of these factors have increased popular interest in the maintenance of adequate higher educational facilities and the willingness to pay taxes to support them.

Finally, probably because California was a western state with a pioneer spirit, there has been a willingness to experiment in education at all levels. The "progressive education" movement, although it had its first flowering in the East, certainly reached new heights of development in California in the 1920's and 1930's. The junior college has reached, in California, its greatest development, and even today the junior college concept is a relatively new or undeveloped idea in many parts of the nation. Most recently, California has shown a willingness to experiment with plans of coordination in its higher educational organization, and, as remarked earlier, these plans have served as models for other parts of the nation.

California's higher educational structure today is divided into four important segments. One of these is the University of California. One can do no better than to quote the summary of the university's own history from its general catalogue for the Berkeley campus:

> Three separate movements resulted in the establishment of the University—one originating in state action, one in private initiative, and one in federal legislation.
>
> State action had its inception in the Constitutional Convention of 1849, which incorporated into the Constitution recognition of the need and provision for a state university.

Private action began when a group of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, led by the Reverend Henry Durant, opened the Contra Costa Academy in Oakland in 1853, and two years later incorporated the College of California. In 1857 the College began negotiations for land north of Oakland, and ten years later the name of Berkeley was given to the townsite near this tract.

Federal action began in 1853 when Congress bestowed upon the State 46,000 acres of public lands, proceeds of the sale of which were to be used for a "seminary of learning." In 1862, the Morrill Act offered a grant of 150,000 acres of public lands to each of those states which would establish a college teaching agriculture and the mechanic arts. Taking advantage of these grants, the California Legislature in March 1866 established an "Agricultural, Mining, and Mechanic Arts College."

The new college had funds, but no campus. The College of California had an adequate site, but limited funds. Accordingly, the College of California offered to give the State its buildings and lands, provided that a "complete university" would be established which would teach the humanities as well as agriculture and mechanics. The offer was accepted by the Legislature, the act of March 1866 was repealed and a new act passed which created the University of California. This act was signed by Governor H. H. Haight on March 23, 1868, a date celebrated each year as Charter Day.

The University opened its doors in September, 1869, at the College of California site in Oakland, while buildings were being erected on the permanent campus at Berkeley. Instruction began on the Berkeley campus in September, 1873.[1]

Over the years the university developed eight other campuses: The San Francisco Medical Center; a school of agriculture at Davis, which has since developed into a general university campus; the Riverside campus; the San Diego campus; the Los Angeles campus, which is now U.C.L.A.; the Santa Barbara campus; the Santa Cruz campus; and the Irvine campus. San Diego, Santa Cruz, and Irvine are the three most recent additions to the university's expansion program and are currently in early stages of development. The university also maintains research facilities at Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, at Livermore, at Los Alamos, at White Mountain in Mono County, and at Richmond, in addition to several agricultural experiment stations throughout the state.

Currently the University of California has 55,000 students, a graduate school of great national and international repute, a faculty distinguished by its large number of Nobel laureates and other well-known scholars, and an admissions program noted for its extremely high selectivity. One of the university's interesting characteristics is its recognition by the

California State Constitution. In Article IX, Section 9, the university actually is defined as a branch of government and maintains in consequence a degree of independence and autonomy from state controls which many university leaders feel has aided it in the development of its distinguished academic reputation.

The second segment of the California higher educational system is the state college complex. On the new seal of the California State Colleges, the date 1857 appears. This occurs because the forerunner of the first California state college was Minns Evening Normal School of San Francisco started in that year. Minns operated an evening school for teachers in the city of San Francisco for five years, and its efforts were so successful that in 1862 Andrew Jackson Moulder, the superintendent of public instruction, proposed the establishment of a regular state normal school in that year. The petition, of which Minns was one of the signers, which induced Moulder to take this step, included this statement:

> How to teach and what to teach are classes of knowledge equal in importance to the teacher and absolutely necessary to the proper progress of the scholar. Both must be acquired somehow. It may well be asked why this should be reserved for the common school room, why the time of the school and the public money should be squandered by empirics rather than husbanded by adepts.[2]

The state legislature passed an act signed by Governor Leland Stanford on May 2, 1862, establishing a State Normal School, and one of the vacant rooms of the San Francisco High School was reserved for the use of the normal school operation. The school's first head was designated as principal and his salary set at not more than $250 per month. The curriculum of this first normal school consisted of orthography, reading, elocution, grammar, composition, rhetoric, writing, arithmetic, mental and written, algebra, geometry, geography, human physiology, natural philosophy, astronomy, and the science and art of teaching. Although Minns was not appointed to the first principalship, he did eventually achieve that post and was finally succeeded by a man named William Thomas Lucky who immediately set about to move the normal school from San Francisco to San Jose, where the institution developed into what is now San Jose State College.

A branch of the State Normal School was opened in Los Angeles in 1882. This later became, in 1919, the Southern Branch of the University of California, and in 1927 the University of California at Los Angeles. In 1889, the Northern California State Normal School was established at Chico. Two more state colleges were founded prior to the turn of the century—San Diego in 1897 and San Francisco in 1899—both of these also started out with the normal school title. California Polytechnical College, in San Luis Obispo, was created by legislative act in 1901 and opened in 1903, as a coeducational state vocational high school.

The California State Colleges today consist of sixteen institutions plus two in the planning stage, a total enrollment of more than 70,000 full-time students (nearly 120,000, including part-time students), an ever-growing faculty of more than 5,000 members, and a curriculum which includes most of the standard programs taught at the baccalaureate level plus a large master's degree operation. Currently, under the Master Plan, negotiations are proceeding with the university for a cooperative doctoral program. The state colleges range geographically from Humboldt at Arcata in the north to San Diego in the south and, in size, from Humboldt, which is the smallest with nearly 2,000 students, to San Jose, currently the largest with about 15,000.

It must be pointed out that the state colleges of California have gone through practically the same series of historical experiences as similar institutions have in other states where normal schools have been established around the land grant institution, have eventually broadened their curricula to include other than teacher-training courses, have been renamed state colleges, and eventually, have become state universities. The California State Colleges, under the Master Plan, are retaining the title of "college," although their development and present status is much the same as that of institutions in other states which currently bear the "state university" name.

The third segment of California's higher educational system, and in some ways the most interesting because of its uniqueness, is the public junior college. The eighth edition of *American Universities and Colleges* (1960) has this to say about junior college development:

> The junior college movement is a significant and in many respects a unique development in American higher education. The junior college, usually offering two years of education above the secondary school, is a product of the 20th century, with its greatest growth since 1940. The enrollment in the recognized junior colleges of the country has increased rapidly in recent years. The U. S. Office of

Education Directory for 1959-60 lists 585 junior colleges, 330 under public control and 255 under private control. There are probably a substantial number of institutions of the junior college type that have not yet met the criteria for listing in the directory. The U. S. Office of Education in its fall enrollment survey for 1959 reported that 512 junior colleges had a total enrollment of 411,495 college level students.[3]

It may be pointed out that of this total of 330 junior colleges under public control in 1959-60, which figure has been somewhat increased since that date, seventy are in California, and like the state colleges, they range geographically from the far north to the extreme south, and in size from extremely small ones associated with secondary schools to Los Angeles City College, which two years ago reported more than 19,000 students.

The junior college has two main tasks. First of all, it prepares students for further work in a state college, the university, or a private institution, and many of the junior colleges have accepted this as their primary role. Actually, however, the second responsibility of the junior college is in many ways its most significant and its unique function, because it is also expected to provide two-year vocational-terminal curricula for those students who do not desire to go further academically, and who wish to fit themselves into the economic and cultural pattern of their immediate community. In consequence, the junior college has developed a broad interpretation of its functions, the breadth of which has been encouraged by its local control. Unlike the university and the state colleges, which have boards of control over their entire systems, each junior college is responsible to a local school board or junior college board, and thus retains a close relationship with its immediate region. Also, in contrast to the university and the state colleges, which are supported chiefly by state funds, the junior college obtains the bulk of its support from the local district and from one-quarter to one-third of its support from state ADA allocations.

The fourth segment of California's higher educational system is perhaps the most difficult to describe because it consists of a wide range of private and independent colleges and universities of many sizes and many types. Although only one-fifth of the college-age youth of California are currently attending these private institutions, they constitute a significant sector of the higher educational organization because of their important graduate programs, their frequently very high academic standards, and their willingness to pioneer and experiment in higher educational development.

There are two large private universities in the state, Leland Stanford, Jr., University at Palo Alto and the University of Southern California. Stanford, as it is called, was chartered in 1885 and offered its first instruction in 1891. It has an enrollment of more than 10,000 students, a graduate school of distinction, and an academic reputation which has brought scholars of renown to its campus continually over the years. It was established by Governor Leland Stanford as a memorial to his son.

The University of Southern California was begun under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church and through the establishment of a land syndicate headed by Robert M. Widney. A "University Tract" was laid out as an endowment for the institution in the southern part of the city of Los Angeles, and the college was opened in October, 1880. The land boom of the 1880's encouraged the university's founders to inaugurate an ambitious program of expansion. President Marion M. Bovard wanted the institution to be a cultural center surrounded by far flung "units" to form a great "university system." Included in the system for a time were the Chaffee College of Agriculture at Ontario, the Maclay College of Theology at San Fernando, a seminary at Escondido, and, projected but not realized, a San Diego College of Fine Arts and a Freeman College of Applied Sciences at Inglewood. There were also plans for a Monrovia Young Ladies College and a seminary at Tulare. Although the "system" did not mature as originally contemplated, the university grew rapidly on its urban campus. Today, it has about 18,000 students, and, despite geographical problems involved in its location in the heart of a large city, it has developed well-known graduate programs and a broad range of undergraduate curricula.

Also among these private institutions is the oldest college in California, formerly called College of the Pacific, and now University of the Pacific, chartered in 1851. The boom of the '80's also brought into being Occidental College in Los Angeles, a Presbyterian institution, which has maintained its small-college status and currently has about 1,500 students and a high academic rating, and Pomona College which was founded by the Congregationalists in 1888 and now forms part of the Claremont College complex, a development of the "Oxford Plan" consisting of a group of small colleges located around a common center.

Catholic universities include Jesuit institutions such as the University of San Francisco, the University of Santa Clara, and Loyola University of Los Angeles, together with a diocesan University of San Diego, and San Diego Women's College. There are, of course, many other independent institutions of higher education in the state and no attempt will be made to catalogue them all. But currently the Western College Association has an accredited list of thirty-seven four-year institutions in California in this category.

In conclusion, it is necessary to describe the most recent event of historical importance in California's higher educational development—The Master Plan for Higher Education. There have been several studies of California's public higher education, starting in the 1940's with the Strayer Report,[4] followed by the 1955 *A Restudy of the Needs of California in Higher Education*,[5] and shortly thereafter by *A Study of the Need for Additional Centers of Public Higher Education in California*.[6] But in 1959 the state legislature became concerned about the tremendous population growth of the state, which at that time was in excess of 1,000 per day and currently is at the rate of more than 1,500 per day, coupled with the increasing pressure upon fiscal resources to support this burgeoning program. There was also the problem of increasing competition for funds among the university, the state colleges, and the junior colleges, which took place largely at the legislative level. The legislature asked the university and the state board of education, which was then the governing board for the state colleges, to appoint a survey team to look into these problems and to discover how the state might continue its higher educational services within its available fiscal resources. The team consisted of a representative of the university, Dean McHenry, who is currently chancellor of the new university campus at Santa Cruz; Henry Tyler, executive secretary of the Junior College Association; Robert Wert, vice-provost of Stanford University, representing the private colleges and universities; and myself, representing the state colleges. The survey team was chaired by President Arthur Coons of Occidental College. After many months of study and the appointment of technical subcommittees in large numbers, a thorough-going investigation of a whole series of problems was undertaken, including appropriate admissions standards, the development of a priority list for the construction of new institutions, studies of population needs of various areas of the state, an investigation of California's ability to pay for higher education, a cost study of higher education itself, consideration of problems of reorganization of the state colleges, and finally, a question to which an answer never was found—the optimum size for an institution of higher education. The committee presented its report which was largely put into law in the Donahoe Higher Education Act of 1960.

The Master Plan for Higher Education consists of two main parts: First, a compromise agreement between the university and the state colleges, which on the one hand guaranteed that the university would remain the research institution for the state and would have primary responsibility for advanced graduate and professional education, and on the other hand an equivalent guarantee that the state colleges could begin to realize their potential and their institutional maturity, through encouragement of research and entry in a cooperative fashion with the university at the doctoral level in graduate work. An essential part of this compromise was recognition of the principle of differentiation of function. The university would have a certain task to perform, the state colleges another set of tasks, and the junior colleges still another. At the same time it was recognized that there was and is essential duplication of function in many areas of higher education, which must be supported in all three segments. The state colleges were given their own board of trustees and removed from the state board of education, and also provided with a central office headed by a chancellor and a staff which would enable them to operate as a truly integrated system. The university agreed to cut its admissions from the top 15 per cent of the high school ability groups to the top 12½ per cent, while the state colleges decreased their acceptance from the top 44 per cent to the top 33⅓ per cent.[7] The junior colleges maintained an "open door" policy of accepting all qualified high school graduates. A priority list for construction of new institutions was established with certain areas of the state destined for survey and investigation by 1965 and others indicated for a 1970 evaluation. Finally, the survey team came to the conclusion that California could continue its existing level of higher educational service to its young people within the fiscal resources of the state without marked increase in the tax base if very careful planning were engaged in, and if coordination and cooperation were achieved. To guarantee this coordination a coordinating council was set up, consisting of three representatives from each of the three public segments, three representatives from the private institutions, and three from the lay public appointed by the governor. A director of the council was also appointed. The major purpose of the council is to resolve differences between the various segments of public higher education and to make certain that proper planning precedes basic decisions such as those involved in the expansion of any one segment.

Today, the Master Plan is in operation, with the state colleges under their new organization and new board of trustees, with the new admissions standards either in effect or rapidly being put into effect, with planning for new campuses being undertaken on the basis of careful research and sound academic justification. Most importantly, there is an opportunity today for true cooperation and coordination between and among the segments of public higher education and, of equal importance, between public higher education and private higher education, so that the building of a new public institution, for instance, will be planned with the interests of existing private institutions in mind and with the intent of putting to the most efficient use all higher educational facilities. The public institutions are supporting private higher education's desire for increased scholarships, so that a broader range of economic groups will be eligible for institutions which charge tuition, and the private institutions on their part are supporting public higher education in its requests for bond funds and other items necessary to carry out the intent of the Master Plan.

Many states are watching California in this development and the prognosis for success is good. Probably the most meaningful thing that can be said at the present time is that a state which has had a significant history of higher educational development is currently passing through one of its most important phases in this history. It remains for analysts of the future to evaluate the significance of current progress.

In the fall of 1962 the University of California was serving 55,000 full-time students, 17.9 per cent of the total full-time student enrollment in the state. The independent colleges were serving 62,000, 20.1 per cent; the state colleges 71,000, 23 per cent; and the junior colleges 121,000 or 39 per cent.[8] These figures, of course, involve only full-time students, and all segments of higher education have many part-time students, particularly the state colleges and the junior colleges. The problem of quantity is obvious, but perhaps the biggest task of the Master Plan is to confront the challenge which John Gardner of the Carnegie Foundation placed before higher education in the Rockefeller Brothers Fund report, *The Pursuit of Excellence:*

> From time to time one still hears arguments over quantity vs. quality education. Behind such arguments is the assumption that a society can choose to educate a few people exceedingly well or to educate a great number of people somewhat less well, but that it cannot do both. But a modern society such as ours cannot choose to do one or the other. It has no choice but to do both. Our kind of society calls for the maximum development of individual potentialities at all levels.[9]

Certainly California has laid a sound foundation for achieving both of these objectives and meeting the requirements of this dual mandate. It remains for the future to demonstrate whether the Master Plan can bring us appreciably nearer this goal. Most of us concerned with it have high hopes that it will.

NOTES

1. University of California, Berkeley, *General Catalogue, Fall and Spring Semesters, 1962-63* (Berkeley, University of California, 1962), pp. 10-11.

2. San Jose State College, *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose, California* (Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1889), p. 10.

3. American Council on Education, *American Universities and Colleges*, 8th edition (Washington, D. C., Council on Education, 1960), pp. 15-16.

4. *A Report of a Survey of the Needs of California in Higher Education* (Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1948).

5. T. R. McConnell, T. C. Holy, and H. H. Semans, *A Restudy of the Needs of California in Higher Education* (Sacramento, California State Department of Education, 1955).

6. *A Study of the Need for Additional Centers of Public Higher Education in California* (Sacramento, California State Department of Education, 1957).

7. *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975* (Sacramento, California State Department of Education, 1960), p. 72.

8. California State Department of Finance, "Report of Total and Full-time Enrollments in California's Institutions of Higher Education, Fall, 1962" (Sacramento, Department of Finance, 1963), p. 5.

9. Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc., *The Pursuit of Excellence* (New York, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958), p. 22.

Bernard Moses' Contribution to Scholarship

By JAMES E. WATSON

DURING THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS following his arrival at the University of California in 1875, Bernard Moses taught all of the courses in history, political economy, and jurisprudence which were offered at that new institution. His graduate training in the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, and Heidelberg enabled him to make important pioneering contributions to the newly emerging fields of Spanish American history and of political science. In an era just prior to the time when specialization became imperative, Bernard Moses was able to initiate courses and engage in research in several fields during his thirty-six years on the faculty. Out of what began as a department of history and political economy, he developed one of the earliest departments of political science in the country. His early teaching and research in the field of Hispanic American history entitle him to a place as the pioneer American scholar who gave the original impetus to this field in American universities,[1] and who was the first of a distinguished line of historians of Latin America who enabled the department of history at Berkeley to make a unique contribution to the field of history.

PIONEER IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

In addition to Moses' early research and publication in Latin American history, he was the first man in the country to give a university course in the subject. He first offered his course in Spanish American history and institutions at the University of California in 1894-95. In it

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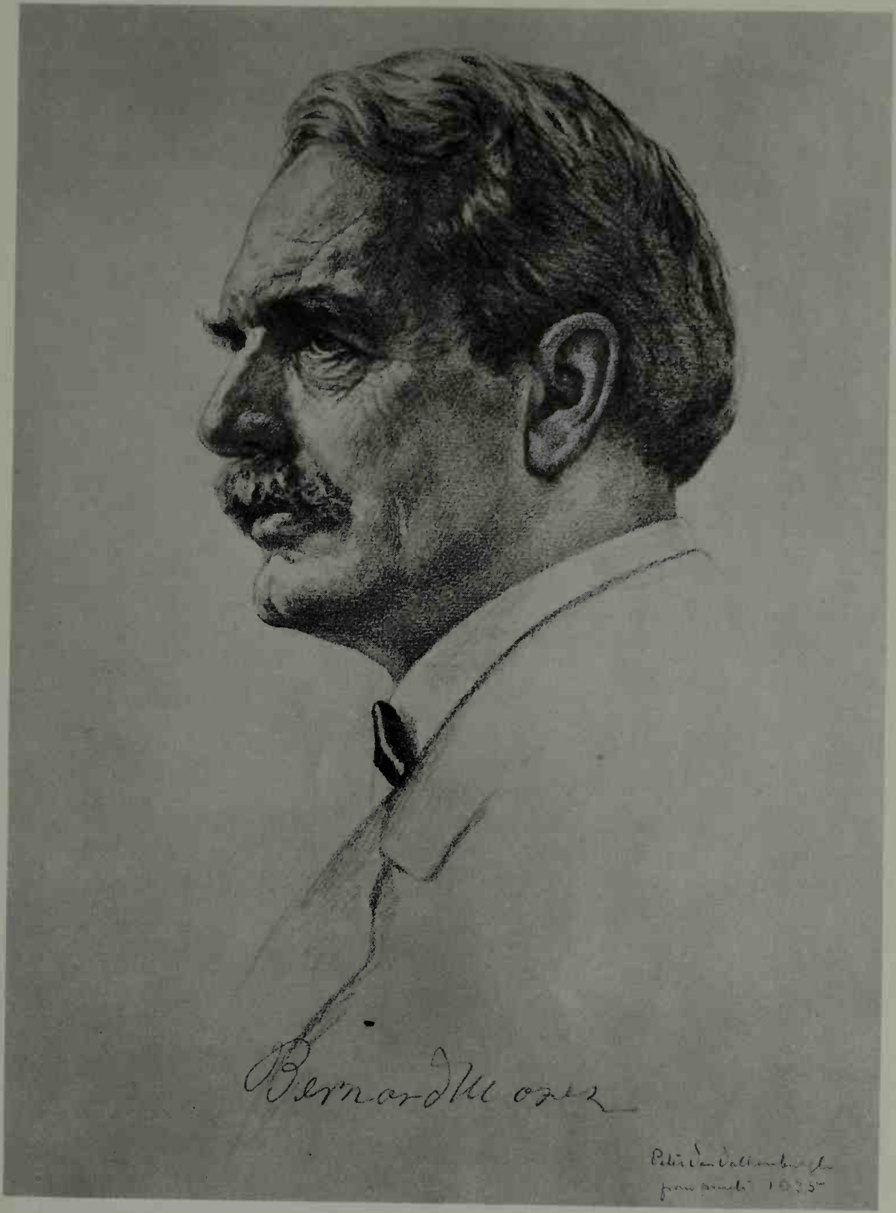
he dealt with Spanish settlement and administration during the colonial period, the War for Independence, and the political development of the Spanish American Republics. It was not until 1904 that similar courses in this field were offered in other universities. In that year Herbert Bolton first offered a graduate course in Spanish colonization at the University of Texas.[2] Another early specialist in this new field was William R. Shepherd at Columbia University who published a study on the Spanish archives in 1902. He held the first post in Latin American history at Columbia,[3] and began teaching a course in the history of Spanish America in 1904.[4] In 1899-1900 Moses introduced a new course in Spanish constitutional history which was designed to be taken concurrently with Spanish American history and institutions. Even after Moses became head of the new department of political science in 1903, he continued as a member of the history department where he taught a course in Latin American colonization.

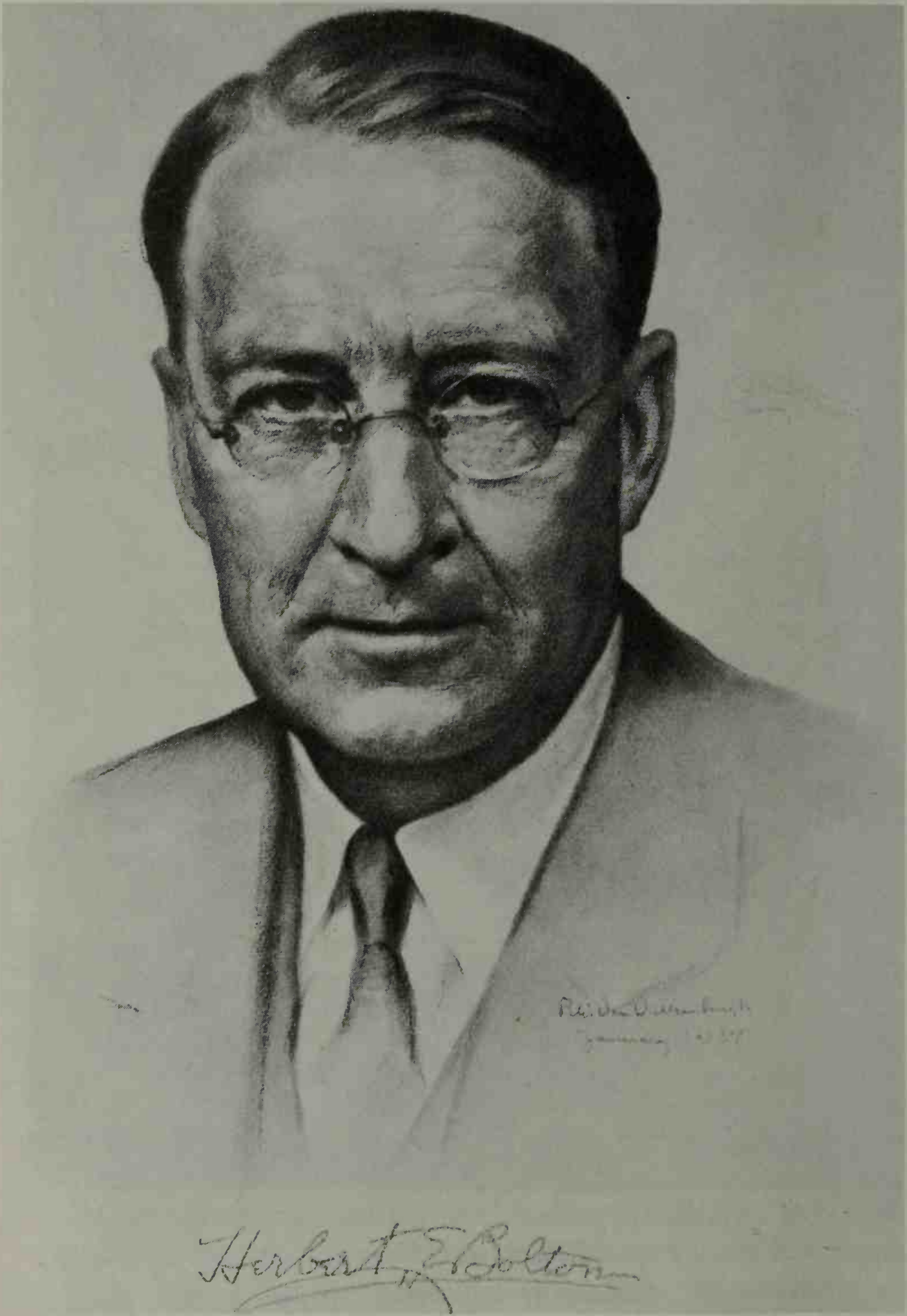
Bernard Moses' first publications in this field consisted of three articles, the first published by the California Historical Society in 1887, entitled "Data of Mexican and United States History." This was followed by a two-part *Yale Review* article in 1895-96 dealing with the "Early Political Organization of Mexico." Moses made a plea to historians in 1898 to consider the study of Spanish colonization and the civilizations in South and Central America. "In order to see any portion of American history in its true light," he wrote, "we must stand where the whole continent lies within our horizon."[5] The exploration of this "neglected half" of American history would have its beneficial effect on history teaching in the schools, as well. Moses continued:

> . . . In history the matter of supreme importance is not in knowing events in themselves, but events in their proper relations, and for this reason the students in our high schools and colleges have a just claim to instruction which shall cover the history of the continent, and present at least the two great and contrasted systems of colonization and government that have been organized and carried out in the English and Spanish colonies, and in the independent nations that have arisen out of these colonies.[6]

One of Moses' successors at the University of California and a leading scholar in Hispanic American history, Professor Charles E. Chapman, has pointed out that as a pioneer in this field, Moses had to write his own monographs. His books had a somewhat novel style. The story Moses told was not necessarily a continuous and united whole, but more often

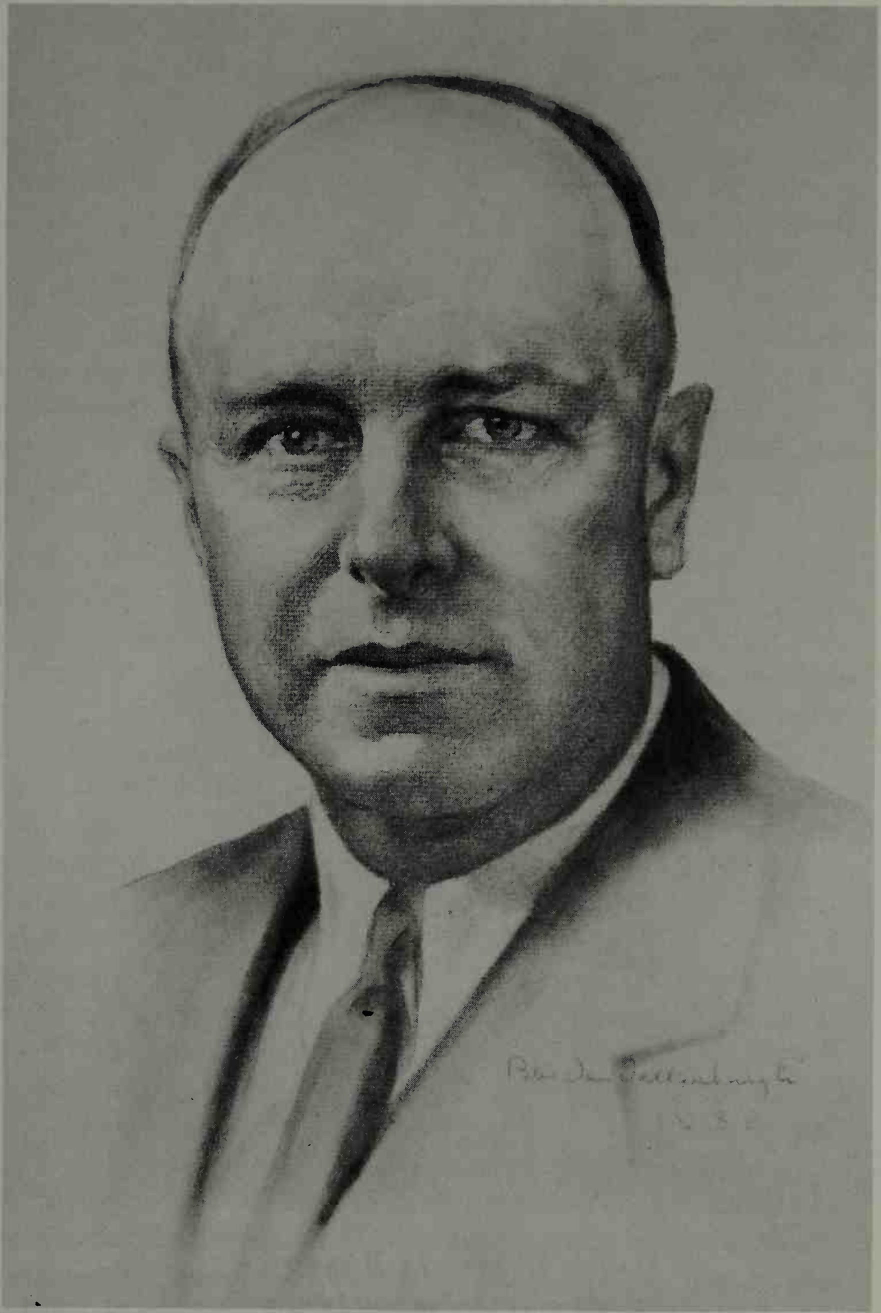

Bernard Moses
1935

BERNARD MOSES
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library



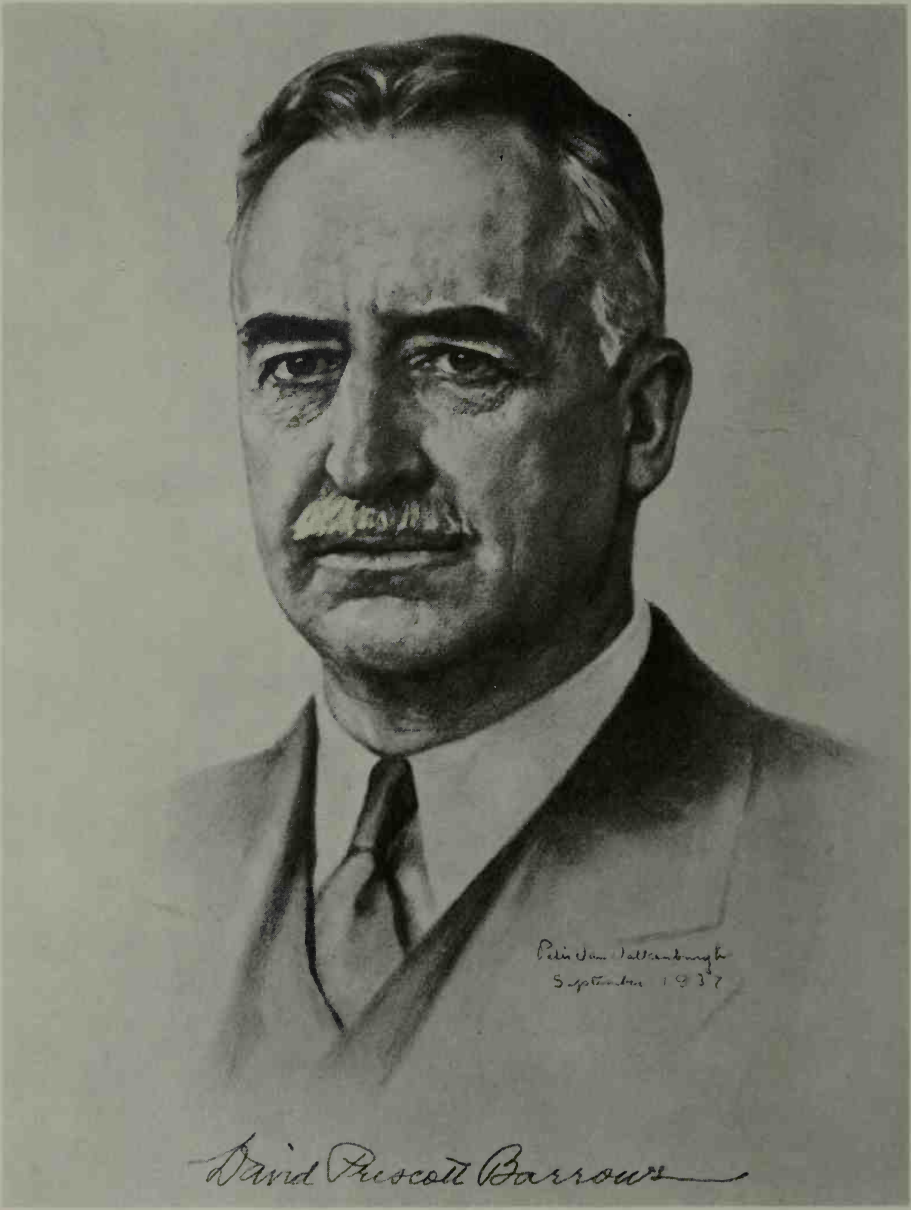
Herbert E Bolton

Herbert Eugene Bolton
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library



CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library


Peter Van Valkenburgh
September 1937
David Prescott Barrows

DAVID PRESCOTT BARROWS
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

a series of essays which bore a relation to the general title. Chapman wrote, "Often some rare or little-known work in a foreign tongue would be digested to serve as the basis for a single chapter, with other volumes being used in like manner as the foundation of other chapters. Always his investigations were painstaking and scholarly."[7]

Published in 1898, Moses' *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* is important both for historiographical reasons and for the fact that it was the first scholarly history of colonial Hispanic America by a professor of the subject, with a student following, to be published in the United States. It headed the impressive list of publications that followed from the growing interest in Spanish America.[8] Following the revision of this volume in 1907, came the publication in 1908 of *South America on the Eve of Emancipation.* This volume covers the same period of time as the first work, but is less exhaustive and less detailed. Most of the chapters are in the nature of separate articles.

In Chapman's opinion the two-volume *Spanish Dependencies in South America* (1914), together with *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (1919), stand as among the best of the Moses contributions on colonial Hispanic America. The *Dependencies* covers the history of Spanish South America from about 1550 to 1730, when Spanish colonial civilization was taking on its characteristic forms. The *Declining Power* volume carries the story from the prior two-volume work. The themes that these works deal with are the increasing social importance of the creoles and mestizos, the disastrous effects of Spain's commercial policy, the decline of loyalty to the mother country, and the successful struggle for independence.[9]

Spanish Colonial Literature in South America (1922) covers the entire colonial era prior to 1810. It gives a detailed account of writers and their works, and, in Chapman's view, is probably the best volume in English for information of this type, since Moses knew the printed works on colonial Hispanic America possibly better than any Anglo-American student of his time. In the introduction the author states that he aims to introduce the reader to the men of letters on the colonies who wrote under the inspiration of their experience in the New World, whether their contributions were in the realm of poetry, history, geographical description, or ecclesiastical discussion.[10]

Written when he was eighty years of age, Moses apologized for the shortcomings of his *Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America, 1810-1824* (1926) by explaining in the first line of the preface, "This sketch might have become a book if the light had not failed." Even though his eyesight, if not his intellectual powers, was failing, Moses' book, in Chapman's opinion, had not been equalled by anything else in English on the subject. In it Moses sought to get to the body of thought and opinion that lay behind the practical enterprises of the revolution.[11] At the age of eighty-three Moses reversed the prediction of his publisher, the Hispanic Society, which rashly announced upon publication of the above volume that this would be the last contribution from Moses' pen. In spite of the fact that his eyesight was practically gone, he managed with the help of his wife to complete his last work one year before his death. This was *Spain Overseas,* issued in 1929, fifty-five years after his first published article. The leading journal in Hispanic American history noted that this was "the last product from the pen of a scholar who more than anyone else in the United States set going the present-day study of the history of Hispanic America."[12]

Bernard Moses exerted an influence upon those who succeeded him at the University of California. Charles E. Chapman, who began his graduate work at Berkeley in 1903, was most directly influenced by Moses, whom he held in great respect,[13] and from whom he took a course on Latin American institutions and the colonial period during the spring of 1911, the last semester of Moses' teaching at the university.[14] Chapman became an instructor in history in 1914, received his Ph.D. in 1915, and began a distinguished career in Hispanic and Hispanic American history at the university through the publication of an impressive list of books in these fields and through the leading part he played in the founding of the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* on whose editorial board he served from its beginning in 1917 until his death in 1941.[15]

Two other men who built on the work of Bernard Moses and who helped to establish the early reputation of the university in Latin American history were Herbert I. Priestley and Herbert Bolton. Both came to the university when Moses retired, Priestley as curator of the Bancroft Library in 1912, and later as professor of Mexican history. His interest in Mexico resulted in the largest collection of Mexicana to be found outside Mexico.[16] Herbert Bolton came to Berkeley in 1911, already a recognized authority on the Spanish Southwest. He left the University of Texas where he had turned to Spanish America as his major field of interest and had begun extensive research in the archives of Mexico. He was persuaded by Henry Morse Stephens, head of the history department, to accept a professorship at the University of California. In his famous course, History of the Americas, Bolton pioneered a new trend in teaching by presenting the history of the New World in unified and broad aspects rather than in dismembered parts divided along national boundary lines. As the founder of what became known as the "Bolton School," he influenced scores of graduate students who enrolled in his seminars and wrote dissertations under his direction.[17]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Bernard Moses was in the forefront of the small group of scholars in the country who were beginning to devote their research efforts to opening up the Hispanic American subject matter. His writing and research did much to influence the attitude of American teachers and scholars toward the history of the American continent. For thirty years after his retirement, the work initiated by Bernard Moses in Hispanic American history was carried on by Chapman, Priestley, and Bolton, bringing distinction in this field to the university and its department of history.

Bernard Moses made contributions to the growth of other social science disciplines at the University of California from 1875 to 1911. Although productive scholarship and the evolution of the curriculum go hand in hand, the scholarly work of Moses will be treated in the remainder of this article and will be grouped into the following subject categories: history (other than Spanish American) and the early social sciences, political economy, political science, and comparative government.[18]

HISTORY AND THE EARLY SOCIAL SCIENCES

At the same time that the outlines of the various social science fields were beginning to emerge in the eastern and middle western universities, a similar development in thought and curriculum expansion was going on at the University of California under the leadership of Moses. During the two decades prior to the turn of the century, Moses was writing journal articles with such titles as "Social Science and Its Method," and "A Brief Survey of the Field of Political Inquiry."

In the same year (1880) that John W. Burgess was forming the

School of Political Science at Columbia, Bernard Moses instituted the first course at Berkeley to bear the title "Political Science." This was a study to be carried on during the first semester of the senior year, and included the reading of Campbell's *Austin's Jurisprudence*, Cooley's *Constitutional Law*, and P. V. Smith's *English Institutions*.[19]

Along with the introduction of a course in political science, Moses formulated his conceptions of the nature of the subject matter to be included, defined the scope and limits of each field, and distinguished one study from another. A survey of this phase of Bernard Moses' writings indicates that he deserves a place among those early leaders who gave definition to the emerging study of political science.

In 1880, five years after assuming his post as professor of history, Moses analyzed the current attempts to form a science of society and outlined some conceptions of his own. He noted that the school of philosophers led by Herbert Spencer had been most successful in the attempts to construct a science of society; however he pointed out that the danger to be avoided in the organic theory was the acceptance of principles as universal which could not be shown to obtain universally, and the adaptation of such erroneous propositions to support trains of deductive reasoning. "To construct a science of society," he wrote, "we must examine society as it is in all lands, and in all ages."[20]

What Moses called a reasonable classification of the phenomena fell into three general groups beginning with the lowest in the social scale; namely, the phenomena of industry and trade. The latter phenomena, wrote Moses, "form the subject-matter of a science of which Economics seems to be an appropriate name."[21]

The next highest group of social phenomena constitute the subject matter of political science. The fundamental conception of this science was that of sovereignty, in his view. In fixing the limits on the sphere of political science, Moses wrote that one must consider the end of the state and must study all the means employed by sovereign authority to reach the end proposed. The data of this sphere are far more comprehensive and of a higher order than those in the area of economics; in fact, he thought that the field of political science might be said to embrace the field of economics. He stressed interdependence, however; no act was completely an economic act, since it usually had its legal and moral dimensions.

In the third sphere of his outline of a general science of society Moses placed the science of ethics. For him, the chief difficulty here came in the fact that the fundamental principles and methods were subject to debate. He described this area, in brief, as "the science of human relations, the science of those relations which *ought* to exist between men, and under which the activity of men in all deportments of life should go on."[22] Ethics extends over the realm of economics and political science, he wrote. The highest generalization of ethics is the moral law, with which the conclusions of other sciences must harmonize. He said:

> The Supreme law in the government of society is the moral law. To this all the political relations of men must conform, and in harmony with this must be shaped the commands of the state.... Men in their relations with one another are obliged to conform, first, to the commands of the state, and, where the state is silent or indifferent, to the dictates of morality.[23]

Perhaps reflecting the influence of his graduate training in the "German historical school," Moses believed that history furnished a context and starting point for the investigator of society. Barrows has written that Hegel was one of Moses' favorite writers, and Hegelian influence may be noted in the following comment by Moses:

> Our task is, so to speak, the anatomy and physiology of social or national economy. . . . We proceed after the manner of the investigator of nature. . . . History furnished us indispensable material for a science of politics, but the science of politics does not concern itself with the record of states as they have existed. . . . Ethics and politics are parts of a general science of society and the formation of this general science presumes the acceptance of a general ideal, a general conception of the end of existence. Sociology embraces more than the past; it embraces in its view an unrealized ideal in the future. The history of society cannot explain society any more than the history of childhood can furnish a solution of the problem of human existence.[24]

Moses followed by adding that history aids in the explanation of society, but it can give only a partial explanation. It can render only inadequate aid in determining the ideal, in determining the ends or purposes of the state, or of social existence. For these determinations, he continued, we must direct our investigations to the human soul.

Writing in 1881 in the *Berkeley Quarterly*, Moses conceived of a broader task for history. It no longer could be studied as a mere narration of successive events, but would become a record of the life and growth of humanity. In order to understand history one must know the ideas, the sentiments, and the passions that have moved peoples in the various stages of development. It would involve a knowledge of the principles of human nature and of their influence in making society what it has been and what it is.[25]

Although Moses reserved an important place for the study of history among the social sciences, he did not hesitate to call for an enlargement of traditional historical studies to include discussions of economics and politics. For him they were all mutually dependent. Social and cultural history—what Moses called popular history, or the history of peoples—had become important, he announced to a teachers' convention in 1891, because of the unprecedented development of the commercial and industrial interests of society and because of the transfer of power from an absolute ruler to the people.

The writings of Bernard Moses in the field of history were not confined exclusively to Spanish America. In 1892 he wrote an article on the legal tender notes that were issued in 1862 in California, and examined the effects of these notes upon the monetary situation in California during that period.[26] In 1898 he went back to the early national period in United States history to examine the "Beginnings of American Financial Independence" in an article in the *Journal of Political Economy*. The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association in 1911 contained an article entitled "Colonial Society in America," written by Moses. This was followed in 1915 by a piece on "The Social Evolution of the Eighteenth Century in South America." He did not confine himself entirely to the scholarly journals. Many of his speeches were printed in their entirety in the press. Popular periodicals occasionally published his work; for example, the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1912 carried an article by him on "Aspects of American Society and Policy."

In 1894 Moses expressed little confidence that a science of society, or sociology, would evolve which embraced the other social science disciplines, although in 1880 he had appeared to be somewhat more optimistic. His later view was that the slow advances in the scientific study of society could be attributed to a lack of intellectual freedom, caused largely by ecclesiastical restrictions, and also to the powerful domination of material interests, which he felt were just as restraining as the "heavy ban of theology." He wrote in the *Journal of Political Economy* in 1894:

> Men have had information about society, but under the influence of preconceived theory, or in the service of certain material interests, their minds have been disposed to present this information so as to make it fit the preconception, or support the material interest concerned. In solving either the scientific or the practical problems presented by the facts of social life, the thought whose expression is important is that which proceeds from minds unmortgaged.[27]

In dealing with sociology, he then distinguished between an all-inclusive science of society, and the art of social control. It was to the latter category, to the domain of practical affairs, that he relegated sociology. Its function would come in the formulation of lines of social action, to a development of the general art of social control. Moses dismissed as pretentious the ideas put forth by those who would propose that sociology could become a science.[28]

In the practical affairs with which sociology was to concern itself, it was possible to recognize one comprehensive art of social control which, Moses wrote, would take note of the scientific conclusions drawn from the several classes of social phenomena and, on the basis of these, determine practical action. It was not possible in the practical affairs of society to recognize a distinct art of economics or a distinct art of politics.[29]

Moses saw small hope and little basis for a science of sociology which would attempt to coordinate history, economics, political science, and ethics. One reason he gave for this view was that any phenomena that such a science might try to pre-empt were already in the domain of the others. For example, he would have included the study of primitive life, and the family, together with the exploration of local organizations, as proper to the field of politics, rather than to a new science of sociology. Another reason militating against such a science lay in the trend which Moses discerned toward differentiation in the sciences—both natural and social. He thought that this trend would make hopeless the construction of a science of sociology which would extend over all the social phenomena of these several classes at once.[30]

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Bernard Moses was not willing to admit sociology to the status of a science, but his early writings show no such attitude toward political economy. He wrote in 1881 that political economy was first taught as an art, but that now it was taught as a science. The aim of this study was to trace the phenomena of industrial and commercial life to their motive principles in human nature, and to determine the general laws under which they exist. This was all on the theoretical level, since he hesitated to admit any practical applications of this "science" into the academic curriculum. He stated that the special applications of the scientific conclusions arising from political economy cannot be definitely taught in the schools. Such application in business or legislation can be properly estimated only by the businessman or the legislator.[31] Moses cautioned that the application of economic laws was always subject to political authority. He disagreed with those economists who take strictly economic principles and attempt to infer from them alone the propriety of a line of conduct. Such conduct should be modified and corrected by the principles of the other social sciences, he insisted. Here, again, he called for the merging of economics, politics, and ethics, on their practical side, into a common art of social control.[32]

Moses rejected a priori conclusions in favor of a looking at the facts themselves, so that researchers in political economy would avoid having unreal conclusions concerning the facts of trade and industry. A rejection of an ideal society and ideal conclusions illustrated one of the marked tendencies of later economic thought, he wrote. As to prediction, he cautiously extended the possibility to conditions immediately following the time of prediction, but questioned the possibility of prediction for longer periods because of fluctuations of the "will" and rapid changes in the environment.[33]

Where did Moses stand among those theorizers who wrote during that period of ferment in economic thought prior to the turn of the century? His writings would seem to place him predominantly in the Conservative Darwinian camp.[34] This conservatism can be noted in the address Moses delivered before the July 4, 1896, convocation at the University of Chicago, celebrating the fifth anniversary of its founding. He attempted to demonstrate that because of the natural right of property, the democratic form of society disappears under normal social development. In the early days of the Republic the relative equality of material conditions led to the prevalence of democracy. But, as the frontier closed, material equality was reduced; and since there is not equality of tastes and aims nor of mental endowments, a movement away from this condition of democratic equality emerged. Then, Moses said that with no restrictions placed upon the movements of individual members of such a society, "the fittest in the several lines of activity acquire positions of advantage, and the less fit fall behind or are crowded to the wall." Thus, every step forward from the simplicity and equality of the early agricultural stage towards the complexity of highly developed society is marked by an increasing inequality of material conditions. Wherever the government steps in to give artificial advantage to certain persons, Moses went on, the effect will be only to accelerate the movement toward inequality. And, with a kind of determinism unacceptable to the Reform Darwinists, Moses concluded:

> We are led to regard the movement from equality of material conditions to inequality of material conditions as a characteristic feature of progress under freedom, particularly as it appears in industrial society . . . whether the government interferes in behalf of individuals, or simply stands for order the outcome of industrial development will be essentially the same in both cases, and that an increasing inequality.[35]

To mitigate this dismal trend Moses could offer only the inculcation of a strong religious faith and an "awakening of the patriotic conscience," consolations which reformers would be unlikely to accept without a fight. Eight years later Moses reiterated his views on the "natural" decline of personal freedom in an industrial society.

Although certainly a conservative, Moses' general position is perhaps not treated with complete fairness by Joseph Dorfman who concludes, on the basis of a partial examination of his writing, that Moses' conservatism carried him so far that it became radical reaction.[36] Dorfman notes that Moses was sharply critical of any social welfare measures that would threaten the spirit of free enterprise; for example, he opposed the German compulsory workman's accident insurance law of 1880. There was no doubt, Moses wrote, that the employer was justified in deducting this cost from wages, rather than profits or invested capital.[37]

To balance Dorfman's analysis of Moses' thought, however, it may be noted that although he justified the emergence of the corporation and the trust, Moses also urged that citizens request that the power of government be magnified and asserted until all corporations and trusts be made to obey both the letter and the spirit of the law.[38] Moses pointed out that the problem was one of increasing national administrative power so that the government would be competent to control corporations and trusts. Not to do this would indicate a failure on the part of government and could not be blamed upon economic institutions, he said.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Recalling that only three years after the turn of the century Moses founded political science at Berkeley and became the university's sole professor in that discipline, attention may be turned to an examination of his thinking in this area.

In the first statement directed specifically to the field of politics found by this writer, Moses made a distinction between the science of politics, which deals with the forms of government, and the art of politics, which considers the action of government. He announced in 1884 that, at that time, there was no science of politics. He said that he found hopeless confusion between the art of politics and the science of politics among writers professing to deal with political science. He indicated that once this confusion was ended, the scientific study of politics would be possible.[39]

In 1884, one year after the department of history and political science was organized with Moses as head, an article by him gave an outline of the three major fields of political inquiry. The study of the forms and tendencies of political institutions and the relations they bear to one another in actual exercise of power was one field of his outline. Included in this part would be subjects of legislation and administration, questions of how things may be done by the government of a state, and the machinery involved. Coming under the art of politics, this category would include questions of parliamentary, judicial, or executive practice.

A second field would seek to answer questions concerning what ends are to be sought: this would be the science of politics. A third field of political inquiry would include the history of political ideas. Related to the second, this field would consist of intellectual efforts to formulate a rational and enduring science of politics. The researcher in this area would seek out the intellectual status of each age in relation to the development of political science and would trace the genesis and growth of those ideas and theories which enter into the existing body of scientific knowledge of politics. Moses encouraged the study of the great theorists of the past, and urged an evaluation of the great doctrines, such as the social contract, the state of nature, and sovereignty.

His work in delineating the spheres of political science continued in the introductory chapter of a textbook on the study of comparative constitutional law, published in 1884. Here he wrote: ". . . we must be careful to draw the line between what the state *is*, or, under given circumstances, *must be*, and what the state *should be, and should do*."[40]

This early textbook, *Politics: An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Constitutional Law*, which Moses wrote with William W. Crane in 1884, was used in college courses. At the University of Pennsylvania in 1883-84, the book was used in a first-term course in political science for juniors, along with Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, and Mulford's *Nation*.[41]

Contributions by Moses to local and state politics are indicated by newspaper reports of speeches delivered to groups throughout the state. In addition, such articles as "The Old Regime of San Francisco" in the *Overland Monthly*, and a monograph on *The Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco* indicate interests in other than theoretical problems. The latter monograph was published in 1889 as the seventh volume in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*. In it Moses traces the beginnings of municipal government in San Francisco over a seventy-five-year period, from the founding of the Spanish pueblo to the first city charter in 1851. This monograph is still in print.

In 1906 Moses published a high school text on American government, including chapters on state, territorial, and local governments. The main purpose of the volume, as stated in the preface, was to show what the government of the United States is, by giving a sketch of its organization and general methods of its working. In this book, Moses reflected his interest and experience in the Philippines by including in the appendix, along with the Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution, the complete text of President McKinley's "Instruction to the Board of Commissioners to the Philippine Islands."

Comparative Government

In addition to contributions to political theory and American government, Bernard Moses wrote widely in the field of comparative or foreign government. From his earliest published work on "Negotiations on the Swedish Invasion of Germany" in the *New Englander* in 1874, his efforts in this area show a continuing interest in the historical and descriptive aspects of foreign governments. Lectures from his first two years at the university were published in 1878 under the title "Outlines of Lectures on the Constitutional History of England and Scandinavia." The breadth of his explorations is revealed in the titles of his articles as follows: "Crown and Parliament in Sweden" (1880), "Drift of Power in the English Government" (1882), "Imperial Germany" (1886), "Antecedents of the Swiss Federation" (1888), "Constitution of the United States of Mexico" (1891), "The Republic of Andorre" (1893), "Economic Conditions of Spain" (1893), "The Casa De Contratación of Seville" (1894), "Economic Situation in Japan" (1898), and "The Constitution of the Republic of Colombia" (1893). In 1899 in "The Recent War with Spain from an Historical Point of View," Moses viewed the war in the light of the history of Spain and the United States. From this viewpoint the struggle appeared to him as a phase of the centuries-old conflict that arises from antagonistic national qualities and divergent national policies.[42] Professor Eric C. Bellquist of the University of California has said that the first article in the list, "Crown and Parliament in Sweden" (1880), was probably the first substantial article done on Swedish government and politics in this country.

A work of greater length in this area appeared in 1889. *The Federal Government of Switzerland* was a book dealing in some detail with Swiss constitutional law, and Swiss politics and government. Notes from a vacation journey "over nearly all the railway lines of Mexico" form the basis for a ninety-page monograph entitled *Railway Revolution in Mexico* (1895). Moses explored the impact of railway expansion upon communication, the growth of cities, the operation of government, and development of agriculture. He began with the granting of the first charter for a railway in Mexico in 1837, and traced the implications of railroad expansion on the Mexican economy to 1895.

CONCLUSION

The writings of Bernard Moses in the several fields of history and the social sciences give insight into the thinking of a prolific scholar who contributed to the late nineteenth century movement toward the definition and classification of the major social sciences as they began to develop into separate academic specializations.

By virtue of his pioneering explorations into the history of Spanish colonization, and his early teaching at the University of California, he may correctly be called the father of Latin American studies in this country. Although Moses' name is not often mentioned along with the founders of the social sciences, his books and articles attest to the fact that he was in the forefront of those who established political science as a separate discipline in the colleges and universities of this country.

NOTES

1. Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (New York, 1933), p. 352.

2. Tom B. Brewer, "A History of the Department of History of the University of Texas" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Texas, 1957), p. 81.

3. R. Gordon Hoxie, ed., *A History of the Faculty of Political Science Columbia University* (New York, 1955), pp. 77-78.

4. *Columbia University Catalog* (1904-05), p. 121.

5. Bernard Moses, "The Neglected Half of American History," *University Chronicle* (April, 1898), p. 122.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

7. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII (New York, 1934), 274.

8. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, p. 372.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 373-74.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

12. *Hispanic American Historical Review* (August, 1932), p. 396.

13. Information obtained in correspondence with William Lytle Schurz, November 16, 1961.

14. Information obtained in correspondence with Eric C. Bellquist, November 30, 1961.

15. University of California, *In Memoriam* (1931-42), pp. 6-7.

16. University of California, *In Memoriam* (1944), pp. 2-4.

17. University of California, *In Memoriam* (April, 1958), pp. 11-13.

18. It should be stated that Moses distrusted overspecialization. According to David P. Barrows, who was one of Moses' most distinguished students, he opposed the tendency to subdivide the fields of history, politics, economics, and jurisprudence. See *Memorial Addresses for Bernard Moses* (Berkeley, 1930), pp. 17-18.

19. *University Register*, 1880-81 (Oakland, 1881), p. 55.

20. Bernard Moses, "Social Science and Its Method," *Berkeley Quarterly* (January, 1880), p. 2.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

25. Bernard Moses, "The Extension of the Curriculum," *Berkeley Quarterly* (February, 1881), p. 343.

26. Bernard Moses, "Legal Tender Notes in California," *Quarterly Journal of Economy* (October, 1892), pp. 1-23.

27. Bernard Moses, "The Nature of Sociology," *Journal of Political Economy* (December, 1894), pp. 31-32.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

31. Moses, "Extension of the Curriculum," p. 344.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.

34. Professor Eric F. Goldman has conveniently made a division of the two camps into which most social scientists fell. There were the Conservative Darwinists—the followers of Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner—and the Reform Darwinists, represented by such reformers as Henry George, E. A. Ross, and Thorstein Veblen. See Goldman's *Rendezvous With Destiny* (New York, 1952; Revised, 1956), pp. 70-78.

35. University of Chicago, *Record* (August 7, 1896), pp. 299-300.

36. Joseph Dorfman, *Economic Mind in American Civilization*, III (New York, 1949), 98.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

38. Bernard Moses, *Democracy and Social Growth in America* (New York, 1898), p. 48.

39. Bernard Moses, "A Brief Survey of the Field of Political Inquiry," *The Berkeleyan* (September 15, 1884), p. 27.

40. Bernard Moses and William W. Crane, *Politics* (New York, 1884), p. 3.

41. Anna Haddow, *Political Science in American Colleges and Universities 1636-1900* (New York, 1939), pp. 186-87.

42. Bernard Moses, "The Recent War with Spain from an Historical Point of View," *University Chronicle* (June, 1899), p. 3.

Michael Reese

Parsimonious Patron of the University of California

By CHARLES H. CUTTER

IN THE 1870's San Francisco boasted of having more millionaires than any other city in America. Among that collection of wealthy men was Michael Reese. Standing on a street corner, plainly dressed and indifferently twirling a cigar in his mouth, he had the look of an ordinary man. There was little indication that he was a superlatively gifted businessman with a keen speculative insight. To San Franciscans, however, Michael Reese was more than a brilliant businessman. He was a millionaire afflicted with avarice. His personal eccentricities, recounted time and time again by gossiping San Franciscans, were to make him one of the city's notable characters, probably second only to the prototype of San Francisco characters of the period—Emperor Norton.

Ridiculed and abused for his parsimonious ways, Michael Reese was to become, strangely enough, one of the first major patrons of the University of California.

He was born in the small Bavarian village of Hainsfurth on August 15, 1817. His parents were of moderate means and managed to give him the rudiments of an education, but young Michael was soon apprenticed as a tanner and currier in Munich; his salary was the princely sum of fifty cents a day.[1] Increasingly dissatisfied with his apprenticeship and discouraged with the opportunities for advancement offered in his native land, Reese looked to other shores. Across the Atlantic America seemed to offer almost limitless possibilities to those with energy and ambition. Michael Reese became fired with the urge to emigrate.

By 1836 he had accumulated enough money to secure steerage passage

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on a ship sailing for America; he departed, promising to write his beloved mother often and to return a success. At the youthful age of 18, Michael landed in Baltimore with only the smallpox which had broken out on shipboard. He recovered from the pox in the city pesthouse and started work as a tanner. An economic necessity, the job held the same dissatisfaction for him as it had in Munich, and he soon turned to other pursuits.[2]

With the accumulated capital from two years of successful peddling Reese opened an importing company in New York. The firm's prosperity enabled him to bring his family of six sisters and one brother to America and settle them in Chicago in 1840. A new law forced the company to suspend operations in 1842; Reese lost all that he had and went into debt. Temporarily embarrassed but not defeated, Reese swore that he would work to repay each and every one of his outstanding debts. He returned to his peddling with both mortification and renewed energy, travelling by wagon from town to town selling his wares to repay his obligations. An indefatigable and persuasive salesman, Reese's stock soon amounted to thirty thousand dollars worth of trade items. With financial success, he was able to repay all of his debts—including interest. As his trading business expanded, Michael established stores in Orange and Gloucester counties in Virginia, and an auction house in Richmond as an adjunct to his trade. In later years his detractors were to suggest that he engaged in a more lucrative but less moral trade, but Reese stoutly denied ever trading "jewelry for slaves."[3]

His eye ever on the main chance, Reese speculated in soldiers' warrants during the Mexican War, and made a modest killing, but still this was not enough. He was filled with a restless energy, and like many of his contemporaries, Reese made the decision to go West. He converted his stock of goods to cash and left for St. Paul. Here he avoided the more speculative enterprises of the frontier, choosing instead to invest in the relatively secure real estate of a growing community. Selective investment soon brought his holdings to an impressive 16,000 acres which comprised a great portion of the land on which the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis were later built.

Michael Reese of St. Paul was a frontier landowner of some reckoning, but still his enterprising spirit was not sated. News from California —news of gold—spread its irresistible magnetism throughout the land.

Reese the opportunist saw the immense possibilities for a man with capital in the new El Dorado and began to convert his real estate holdings into cash to prepare for the journey to California. That trip would bring him to San Francisco, where he would settle down to conduct his business and amass his millions.

THE GOLDEN GOOSE IS RELUCTANT

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamer *California* arrived in San Francisco on June 24, 1850. The twenty-four-day trip from Panama had been an exhausting one for the 284 passengers, for they were eager to land and set about their separate ways in the new El Dorado. Among the 281 male passengers was Michael Reese. Possessing a small fortune of $120,000, he landed in California in far different circumstances than most early arrivals.

There was little to distinguish the newcomer. He was a tall, well-built man, standing some six feet in height, and weighing over two hundred pounds. His complexion was florid and he seemed to be of genial temperament. A mere observer of physical characteristics, however, could not possibly discern the shrewd business mind that lay behind the florid complexion: it was a mind ready to grasp every opportunity presented in the real estate or money markets.

For a man of Reese's business acumen and resources, a profitable residence in California was indicated. But such was not to be the case. His early years in California were punctuated with a series of financial reverses that would have enfeebled many a strong man and put weaker ones to flight. Seeing great profits for the middle man in shipping goods to Sacramento, then the great focus of trade for the Northern mines, Reese chartered three ships and loaded them with goods destined for the gold country. En route, storm wrecked the ships and destroyed or ruined most of the goods. Reese, who was aboard one of the ships, was able to save a small part of his investment which he deposited with Sacramento's leading banking house of Barton Lee, and Co. Then, on the very next day, fate seemed to compound misfortune for the distraught business man. Barton Lee, and Co., with a capital of nearly one and one-half million dollars, suspended operations. Creditors of the house, Reese among them, were left helpless.[4] His first business venture in California had ended a compound failure.

Setbacks were to continue. In the great fire of 1851 Reese lost heavily. With his capital diminishing, Michael began to live more and more frugally. He scrimped and saved at great personal sacrifice, and what he termed his "disease" became more manifest. Years later he was to explain to a contemporary: "My love of money is a disease. My saving and hoarding as I do is irrational and I know it. It pains me to pay five cents for a street car ride or a quarter for a dinner. My pleasure in accumulating property is morbid, but I felt it from the time I was a foot peddler in Charlotte, Campbell, and Pittsylvania counties in Virginia until now. It is sort of an insanity, and it's incurable; but it is about as good a form of madness as any, and all the world is mad in some fashion."[5] His economy of living and frugal ways were soon to attract the attention of all San Francisco.

Reese took up modest quarters at 137 California Street and began buying real estate as a broker. He bought land wherever he could, often attending the tax sales conducted by Sheriff Hays.[6] He drove a hard bargain, but never took advantage of another in his dealings. During these early years, if we are to believe the word of James Rolph, Michael exhibited a certain civic-mindedness, taking leave of his business activities to aid the process of justice. The years of outdoor life in Virginia had conditioned his body; now a man of great strength, brawny, and of steady nerve, Reese was just the type of man needed by the sheriff. "When the sheriff had a particularly dangerous arrest to make, he was in the habit of making Mike Reese a member of his posse. Reese would calmly descend into the most dangerous dens and seize the criminal in his mighty grasp in the midst of his comrades."[7]

In his personal life, however, Reese was much less romantic and exercised the severest economies. His food requirements were kept to a minimum unless he was invited to dinner, at which time he indulged his love of food. To save the cost of a meal, he would step into Saulman's Coffee Saloon, the German bakery and confectionary, walk up to the table where the waiters cut the bread, gather up a plateful of discarded pieces and eat them with a cup of coffee![8]

Michael's business fortunes closely paralleled those of his adopted city, and in the financial disasters of 1855 he suffered heavily when the banking house of Page, Bacon and Co. failed. He experienced a similar loss when the banking house of Palmer, Cook and Company failed in 1856. Disaster seemed his constant companion during these early years, and almost as a culminating blow, the Bear River Canal Company, in which Reese was a heavy investor, failed. But Michael Reese had a remarkable capacity for endurance. He weathered each new misfortune, sustained, it seems, by what can only be called an unyielding will and tireless enterprise.

During these early years in California, Reese had occasional need of legal advice. He turned to the firm of Whitcomb, Pringle, and Felton, and through his business relations with the firm, developed a remarkable and immensely influential friendship with the last named partner, John Brooks Felton. A more unusual match is hard to imagine. Felton was a brilliant lawyer, with "more genius than any other lawyer"[9] then in San Francisco. Besides this, he was a "prodigal among prodigals."[10] He spent his fees expansively and ate sumptuously—characteristics sharply at variance with the close personal economies of the miserly Reese. Anomolous as it was, the budding friendship of Felton and Reese was, in a few years, to be of the greatest importance to the University of California, whose genesis was still ten years in the future.

In early 1858 news from British Columbia struck the city like a thunderbolt. Gold had been discovered on the Frazer River! The ensuing exodus thinned the city's population; in the four months from April to August, fifteen to twenty-three thousand men left San Francisco. Businessmen contemplated shifting their operations to Victoria or some other northern city, and real estate values depreciated at least one-half. As James Garniss lamented, "I could have bought property, fifty vara lots, in thousands of places, for a mere song . . ."[11] The gold-crazed emigrants were eager to sell their property for whatever they could get and to leave for the rich northern diggings. Few people were willing to buy land; few had the confidence that San Francisco would continue to grow and prosper. Michael Reese was among the few.

He correctly interpreted the mining excitement for what it really was—a transitory affair; and he translated his confidence that San Francisco would recover into real estate purchases. He bought land wherever he could, as much as he could. Foreign banking houses holding large amounts of real estate in the city panicked at the rapid depreciation of land values. They ordered their agent, the banker Emanuel Berri, to sell their property at the going rate, and Reese was able to buy these holdings at almost minimal cost.[12]

When the miners started returning to the city in the fall, Reese's confidence and judgment were affirmed. Land values began to return to their old levels. Michael Reese was now one of the principal landowners of the city. His extensive purchases during the Frazer River excitement became the basis of the colossal fortune he was to amass in the following years. After 1858 he met no further large-scale disasters such as those which plagued his early years in California. The once-reluctant Golden Goose had begun to lay for Michael Reese, capitalist.

A Rich Man's Annoyances

Silver was to rule the decade of the sixties, just as the fifties had been ruled by gold. The discovery of silver at Washoe, Nevada, in 1859 was the precursor of important things to come for California. Michael Reese was to share in the increasing prosperity that would be California's, but his financial success was not to be without its concomitant woes.

Reese continued to expand his interests and investments in the new decade. Railroad stocks and governmental bonds of every level found their way into his investment portfolio, as did the stocks of water and gas companies. With his excess capital, Reese began to make extensive loans, taking advantage of prevailing rates—7 per cent to over 10 per cent per year. On short-term loans, his rates reached 1½ per cent per month. As silver began to play an increasing role in California finances, Michael Reese bought well-chosen mining stocks. While the principal owner of the Gould and Curry mine, Reese chanced to travel to Nevada and went to inspect his investment. The directors gave him an elaborate reception which culminated in an elegant dinner. During the course of the dinner, Reese excused himself for a few moments, and telegraphed his agent to sell Gould and Curry. He saw immediately that such wasteful and extravagant management would sooner or later impair the finances of the mine![13]

Even as he gained great wealth, Reese continued in his parsimonious ways. He became a figure of great amusement in San Francisco, and each succeeding day seemed to bring new anecdotes. In February, 1866, San Franciscans were all a-twitter with the latest Reese incident. The papers announced that a seamstress by the name of Caroline Clark had filed suit against Michael Reese for breach of marriage promise; she sought $100,000 in damages. The case was the talk of all San Francisco during the year before it was heard in court.

A few days before the trial was to begin, the society editor of the San Francisco *Alta California* light-heartedly reported a grand masquerade at the Lick House. Reese was one of the costumed guests at the party, and the reporter described his disguise as "Domino, and later in the evening as Romeo to a very fascinating Juliet." He concluded the description with the laconic comment, "Another suit in prospective."[14]

On March 20, 1867, the long-awaited suit came up for trial in the fifteenth district court before Judge Dwinelle. The court chambers were crowded with a multitude of eager spectators. Alexander Campbell and J. L. Love appeared for the prosecution. The rotund jolly Michael had chosen as his attorney Hall McAllister, one of the leading members of the San Francisco bar, and brother of New York's Ward McAllister of Four Hundred fame.[15]

Campbell opened the arguments for the prosecution. He outlined the history of Reese's relations with Mrs. Clark. The intimacies between the parties extended from 1862 to 1864, during which time the defendant had given presents, offered his hand in marriage, and been accepted. With great earnestness and pathos, he appealed to the jury, dwelling particularly on the great power of wealth as an instrument whereby the poor and friendless may be crushed. Reese winced.

The first witness for the prosecution was Mrs. Clark. She was a good-looking, nicely dressed, middle-aged lady with a "firm and determined cast of countenance." The story she told of Michael's attempts to reconcile the role of lover and value-conscious businessman rocked the courtroom with laughter. When asked the nature of the gifts Reese had given her, Mrs. Clark replied: "He gave me three pairs of gloves, one pair at one time and two pairs at another. He asked me what gloves were worth and I told him $1.50 a pair. He said: 'Here is $1.25, I guess you can get a pair for that sum.'"

The defense embraced two points: the first was a general denial of the promise to marry; the second point was that at the time of the alleged promise to marry, the defendant supposed the plaintiff to be a woman of chaste, modest behavior and good reputation, but afterwards discovered that such was not the case.

On the second day of the trial, the *Alta California* reported with noticeable disdain that "full delegations from all classes of spectators usually crowding the courtrooms on such occasions were present." The confusion became so great that the entrance had to be cleared and the doors closed. The afternoon session had an even greater number of persons crowding the doorway. Jurors, attorneys, and witnesses were packed so closely together that they could not move, and the crowd was so dense that the sheriff could only reach the door to open the court by climbing over the heads of those blocking the passageway. With tongue in cheek, the *Alta California* reported that "some delay was caused in obtaining order."

The witnesses for the defense unravelled a sordid tale about the little jilted seamstress, rather conclusively proving the contentions of the defense. Under direct questioning, Reese reported having encountered Mrs. Clark whose parting shouts were "I'll make you shell out some of your money." Campbell chose to ignore this side of the case and return to one of his original themes: "This is a contest between the power of money and the power of truth," he told the jury in his concluding arguments which lasted nearly four hours.

After deliberating two and a half hours, the jury returned a verdict which awarded the plaintiff $5,000 in damages. Reese was shocked and dismayed. His attorney announced his intention to file an appeal which the California supreme court ultimately was to deny that summer.[16]

The payment of the award was one of the tragedies of Michael's life. For his friend Felton, however, the incident provided a marvelous opportunity to exercise his wit—at Reese's expense. He invented wild exaggerations of his friend's amours. He described how Reese escaped from irate husbands by running over roofs and sliding down drain pipes, how he swam the Carquinez Straits with his clothes in his teeth to keep a date with a lady love in Benicia, and in short, made him out as the greatest of Don Juans. Poor Reese would only listen with a sad grin and plead, "Please, stop, Felton."[17] Their friendship continued in spite of ribbings such as these, and in 1868 Felton was appointed a regent of the University of California. It was an appointment that presaged important things for the future.

Reese had not stopped his accumulation of property. The San Francisco *Real Estate Review* of December, 1868, estimated the value of his holdings in the city at $1,100,000.[18] Michael Reese was a millionaire, but he was paying the consequences of his wealth. The *Alta California* succinctly stated his situation shortly after the breach of promise trial: "If the unfortunate millionaire Michael Reese were only a pauper whom nobody owns [*sic*] he would be spared many annoyances."[19]

THE WEB OF FINANCE

Michael Reese journeyed to Europe in 1870. Besides being an observer of the Franco-Prussian War, he was the agent of the Southern Pacific Railroad, negotiating the sale of the railroad's bonds to European investors. The job was indicative of his vast, far-flung business activities.

Reese became the private banker to the rich, the powerful and the important, but millionaire and corporation borrowers were not the only supplicants at Reese's door. Virtually every man who had adequate security was able to secure a loan—at suitable rates of interest. Millions were loaned. The complexity and extent of his operations made them a veritable web of finance spreading throughout the city and state.

Reese spun the threads of his web from an 8x12 cubicle over the stairway to his office building at 410 Montgomery Street. To that office the money seekers came. One day, O. P. Fitzgerald, the Methodist minister of the Minna Street Church, came to him for a contribution to the church. As he entered the room, Reese was seated behind a large pile of $1,000 United States Government Bonds, clipping off coupons. The minister saw a man of huge frame, with enormous hands and feet, receding forehead, full sensual lips, and large nose. But, wrote the minister, "That face! It was a study as he sat there using the big pair of scissors. A hungry boy in the act of taking into his mouth a ripe cherry, a mother gazing into the face of her pretty child . . . are but faint figures by which to express the intense pleasure he felt in his work . . . I had come upon a devotee engaged in worship."[20]

The financier looked up from his work. With his usual good humor, Reese said, "O yes, I was expecting you. They all come. Father Gallagher of the Catholic Church, Dr. Wyatt of the Episcopal Church and all the others have been here. I feel friendly to the churches and I treat them alike—it won't do for me to be partial—*I don't give to any!*"[21]

Money-seeking ministers were not the only people who bothered Reese. During the early seventies, Reese began a continuing battle with the city assessor which grew out of the inclination of those holding the office to regard him as a rich man who should, in all justice, contribute his quota towards the burdens of taxation. Reese exhibited a marked disinclination to take the same view, and to escape their "persecutions," he moved to San Mateo and commuted to his office every day.

In March, 1873, a small notice appeared in the San Francisco papers, indicating that President Daniel Coit Gilman of the University of California had been offered the opportunity of buying the library of the distinguished scholar of Columbia University, Dr. Francis Lieber.[22] Gilman asked Casper Hopkins if he could raise the required $2,000 among the rich German-Americans of San Francisco who might wish to present the library of their eminent compatriot to the university.

Hopkins had little trouble in raising the first $1,250, but he seemed to be stuck at that figure when he met Michael Reese one day. He expected little from a man "ignorant of literary matters . . . yet so wealthy as he." To his surprise, Reese handed back his subscription book with the remark: "Hopkins, in three days I will tell you whether I will furnish all the money you want or none, but I will not sign that book with other people."[23]

Michael was intrigued with the idea of presenting the library to the university. Through Felton, still a regent of the university, Reese had met Gilman and had fallen under his influence. He began to take a deep interest in the affairs of the school. Perhaps it was time for him to follow Felton's suggestions to loosen up and live like a human being.[24]

On March 28, Reese sent a short note to President Gilman. "I understand," he wrote, "that the library of my distinguished countryman, Dr. Lieber, is for sale in New York for $2,000. I enclose draft for that amount. You will, please, present the library to the University of the State of California. I wish the University and yourself the greatest success."[25] Michael Reese, whom most people thought a parsimonious old curmudgeon, had become a patron of the University of California!

Gilman wrote a "handsome acknowledgement" which Hopkins took pains to have widely published. The newspapers took up the story and the *Chronicle* headlined: "Michael Reese Unties His Pursestrings." At the meeting of the board of regents on April 1, Regent Dwinelle, with an eye to the future, introduced the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the Regents return their grateful acknowledgments to Michael Reese Esq. for his generous purchase of the library of Dr. Francis Lieber of New York, and that they assure him of their belief that this collection of books will not only be an interesting memorial of his distinguished countryman, but will quicken the study of political and social science in the University and will suggest to others that advantage of buying like special collections of books accumulated by scholars during long lives of literary activity.

"Resolved that the President of the University cause to be inserted in the Lieber books a suitable label which shall indicate briefly the origin of the collection, and the name of the Donor."[26]

For several days after, Michael was bouyant with the new sensation. "Why Hopkins," he exclaimed, "the newspapers are saying a good word for me! That never happened to me."[27] His friends and acquaintances expressed justifiable incredulity. They thought of him as the eccentric millionaire who brought his sandwich in a paper bag to the stock exchange,[28] and not as a patron of an educational institution. But whatever they thought, the fact remained Michael Reese had begun to give.

Reese continued to expand his activities, carrying on numerous operations for California's men of finance like Leland Stanford and William Chapman Ralston, president of the Bank of California.[29] By 1875 Reese was worth an estimated five million dollars. But there were so many millionaires in San Francisco at the time that the possessors of five million were only "well-to-do citizens," men of "comfortable" means—San Francisco's "middle class," in the words of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Investments and loans were pouring money into the little office at 410 Montgomery; close to one million dollars passed through that door every month![30]

San Franciscans were treated to a glimpse of the inner workings of the Reese financial web when his feud with the incumbent assessor burst into print in 1876. On Friday, June 23, Reese appeared before the board of supervisors—sitting as a board of equalization—and asked that his assessment of $500,450 for money on hand, as well as $700 for a horse and buggy be stricken from the tax roll. He argued that he never had $500,000 lying around. He pointed out that he was paying heavy interest on loans and that it would be foolish for him to do so if he had so much cash available. And furthermore, he added, his horse and buggy were already taxed in San Mateo. He asked the supervisors to examine his books and see for themselves, interjecting that he was not afraid to let the public know what he was worth, and that he "courted investigation."

The hearing disclosed that Reese was taking in $20,000 in rents alone each month. He also claimed to be a legal resident of San Mateo County, but when asked how many times he had slept there during the last year, Reese had to confess only twelve to fifteen times. Assessor Badlam argued that the assessment was arbitrary, but equitable. "I tell you gentlemen, $500,000 is a small assessment and if you sustain it, I will collect every dollar," he told the supervisors. "It would be," he continued, "rank injustice to poor men in this city to let him [Reese] escape." The board agreed; the motion to reduce the assessment against Michael was defeated.[31] Unwillingly, he had to pay.

The San Francisco *Call* took Reese at his word and sent a reporter to interview the colorful character. "Yes sir," Reese told him, "the same things recurs every year. Ever since a certain assessor persecuted me some four years ago to vent a personal pique, the succeeding incumbent hands me up personally. It has got to be a regular custom in the office." The reporter was told to look at Reese's financial ledger. To his amazement, he discovered that Reese owned three million dollars worth of property throughout the state. "I never keep any money on hand," the businessman explained, "My principle is to always be in debt, and my income goes to reduce my over-drafts and my interest account." Consequently, he was overdrawn every day. The great money lender himself owed over two and a half million dollars to various individuals and institutions. On the other side of the ledger, however, Reese held loans totalling four million dollars to all classes of San Francisco society.[32] The complexity and scope of the web that Reese had spun was staggering.

Early in 1878 Michael decided to go to Europe, to visit the grave of his beloved mother. On March 14, a few days before he was to leave, Reese gathered three of his friends together to witness the signing of his will; he wrote it all in his own hand, with errors in grammar and spelling throughout. After setting forth a series of bequests to his relatives, the miserly Reese wrote out his bequests to charitable institutions: $20,000 to the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum; $10,000 to the St. Luke's Hospital; $25,000 to the Mt. Sinai Hospital of the city of New York; and the same amount to the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York. Then he wrote:

"I give and devise to the Corporation known as the Regents of the University of California Fifty Thousand dollars to be by them invested in the founding and maintaining a Library to be known and called the Reese Library of the University of California."[33]

His friend Felton had convinced him that if he could not spend his money while he lived, he should dedicate it to some worthy cause after his death. For Reese, so friendly with Regent Felton, there was nothing more appropriate than the state university. The bequest probably would have been bigger—estimates vary—except for two things. In 1875 President Gilman had left to assume the presidency of Johns Hopkins, and Reese's long-time friend John Brooks Felton had died in 1877. Reese had ceased to attend as many of the university functions when Gilman left; they had lost some of their appeal. When Felton died, he no longer had a close personal tie with the college. But for fate, the university would probably have received a larger bequest from the parsimonious millionaire.

The second bequest which was to be of future significance was that of $200,000 in trust to be distributed by his "dear sister" Henrietta Rosenfeld and Jacob Rosenberg in such charities as "they may think fit." Having written his will and arranged his affairs in San Francisco, Reese was free to leave for Europe.

It was a pleasant journey across the continent. Reese enjoyed the mineral baths at Carlsbad, but was eager to get on to Wallenstein, Bavaria, to visit the grave of his mother. On the morning of August 1 Reese went for a walk out of Wallenstein to the cemetery where his mother was buried. He returned at noon, and while in the middle of a street named "Jews Lane," Michael Reese dropped dead. A doctor was summoned, but there was little he could do but declare that the man had died of apoplexy.[34]

There being few Jews and no rabbi in Wallenstein, the rabbi from Little Nordlingen was invited to conduct the burial services. Reese was buried at seven-thirty Sunday morning; the body was deposited in the grave by the side of his mother and sisters. His mourners consisted of a handful of people who knew the millionaire and of a few Jews from Little Nordlingen who had been invited to attend the services.

Even in death Michael Reese prompted humorous anecdotes from San Franciscans. The story soon spread that Reese had visited the graveyard where his mother was buried, but had been confronted by a gatekeeper who demanded a few pennies. Refusing to pay the man, Reese went to the other side of the cemetery, tried to climb the fence, impaled himself on an iron spike and as a result, died of blood poisoning. Another version of the story was that he died of apoplexy when asked to pay.[35]

The inventory of Reese's estate gives an indication of the nature and scope of the money lender-speculator's operations. There were large amounts of utility stocks, but the more important feature of his investment portfolio was his bond holdings which covered fifty ledger pages in the inventory. There were promissory notes from Miller and Lux, William Sharon, Leland Stanford, and Haggin and Tevis, the San Francisco bankers, among others. The interest on the larger loans ranged from the low of 7 per cent for his friends Charles Lux and Henry Miller, to the 10 per cent Stanford was paying on one of his loans. For the smaller loans the interest rate was as high as 12 per cent.[36]

His real estate holdings were extensive. A list of property owned by Reese in San Francisco alone covered 15½ inches of fine type in the *Chronicle*.[37] The value of the San Francisco holdings was well over a million dollars, and his property in Alameda County was valued at $948,100. Other property was held in Fresno, Mendocino, San Mateo, Solano, and Sonoma counties. In Los Angeles County Reese owned the great Los Alamitos ranch, comprising 26,389 acres near Anaheim.[38]

When all the strands of the web had been drawn in and their value computed, the Estate of Michael Reese was listed as $6,427,591.60. By his own request all of his property was to be converted into cash within five years after his death. Each of the strands was separated and sold. The web of finance that Reese had so shrewdly constructed was gone. Michael Reese would now live on in legend—and in his benefactions.

EPILOGUE FOR A FORGOTTEN BENEFACTOR

In 1878 five other San Francisco millionaires—W. S. O'Brien, Isaac Friedlander, Mark Hopkins, William Watt, and D. D. Colton—died, giving credence to the city's boast of having more men of wealth than any other city in America. A contemporary historian said of the group, "all were public spirited save Reese."[39] It is an irony of history that none of the other five millionaires made any bequests that are remembered today or that have produced an atom of the beneficient results achieved by two bequests of Michael Reese.[40]

Henrietta Rosenfeld and Jacob Rosenberg wisely invested the $200,000 in trust, willed them by Michael for distribution to fitting charities. In 1879 they decided to back a hospital in Chicago, carefully stipulating that it was to be called the Michael Reese Hospital for all time to come. The hospital was to be nonsectarian, a place where sufferers, regardless of faith or nationality, could come for treatment.

In 1955 *Time* Magazine wrote: "Everybody on Chicago's South Side—and in United States Medicine—knows what Michael Reese is: a first rate hospital center that treats countless charity cases as well as paying patients."[41] Far removed from his adopted city of San Francisco, a statue of the benefactor stands on the hospital grounds to commemorate his bequest.[42] The hospital itself stands as a living tribute to the man who for so long bore unchecked and unchanged the hostile criticism of a laughing city.

The Reese bequest to the University of California Library was a boon in a crucial period. For several years, the income from the fund was the only money available for the purchase of books for the college. The regents decided that the library to be formed from the Reese bequest would be of a general nature, with judiciously selected works in literature, science, and the arts. They further determined that "the principle remain as an invested fund and that the interest only be used for the purchase of books."[43]

Appropriately enough, the regents first invested the fund in a loan to two San Franciscans—Joseph Fiegenbaum and Ludwig Schwartzchild—at an interest rate of 6 per cent payable monthly. During the first years of investment, the fund earned an average of 5¾ per cent per annum. By 1900 the bequest had brought in $65,999.64 in interest, and by 1930 more than $150,000 had been spent from the fund's income to buy books for the university. The principle of the bequest has been invested each year since, and under more conservative investment policies of the regents, has earned an average of 4 per cent per annum.[44] Well over $200,000 has resulted from the patronage of the parsimonious millionaire.

In 1886 a tablet was placed in the Bacon Art and Library Building with the following inscription:

To
Michael Reese
In Commemoration of his Liberality
In Donating to the Library
Fifty Thousand Dollars

It was a humble memorial on the part of a grateful university. Today that tablet rests in the bottom of the Hearst Gymnasium for Women, forgotten and disregarded, a testimonial to the appreciation of the present for the generosity and gratitude of the past.

We remember Michael Reese in fact and fiction. A man of the grossest parsimony, he became in his final years the patron of a great university and indirectly, a benefactor of mankind.

NOTES

1. The facts on Reese's early life are not too well substantiated. They come from three sources, usually traceable to Reese himself, and usually contradictory. Of varying reliability are the posthumous biographies printed in the San Francisco newspapers. Some of these are based on an 1876 sketch done of Reese by the *San Francisco News Letter* for its "Men We Know" series, which is based on an interview with Reese. H. H. Bancroft prepared an eight-page biography compiled from notes submitted by Joseph Rosenberg, Reese's nephew and clerk, and others. The facts are often inaccurate as shown. The best facts are gleaned from the testimony of Reese's 1867 breach of marriage promise trial. These autobiographical statements were, for what it is worth, given under oath. The author has chosen to accept them as statements of fact.

2. The Bancroft biography says Reese was born in March, 1815, and landed in Baltimore in 1833. The facts used come from the testimony, BMP trial.

3. Testimony, BMP trial, 1867.

4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII, 173, note 47.

John Frederick Morse, *The First History of Sacramento City* (Sacramento, 1945), p. 70.

5. Oscar Penn Fitzgerald, *California Sketches* (second series; Nashville, 1888), p. 172.

6. John C. Hays, *Papers,* No. 28, California Historical Society.

7. James Rolph, "Bankers of Old S.F.," in Leroy Armstrong, *Financial California* (San Francisco, 1916), p. 120.

8. *Ibid.*

9. John B. Felton, MS, Bancroft Library.

10. James H. Wilkins, "The Good Old Boys in the Good Old Days at U.C.," San Francisco *Bulletin*, March 8, 1913.

11. James R. Garniss, *The Early Days of San Francisco*, MSS, Bancroft Library, pp. 19-20.

12. Michael Reese, MS, Bancroft Library.

13. *Ibid.*

Thomas Farish, *The Gold Hunters of California* (Chicago, 1904), gives the following account of the same anecdote: "When the stock (Gould and Curry) was selling for $1,000 a foot, Michael Reese of San Francisco, came up to inspect the mine, in which he was a part owner. Seeing a large supply of champagne being unloaded by the superintendent's door, and not approving of that method of running a mine, he returned to San Francisco and sold out his stock at $12,000 a foot. In a very short time he bought it back, paying $2,200 a foot." p. 173.

14. *Alta California*, March 3, 1876.

15. The facts on the trial are gleaned from the *Alta California* and San Francisco *Bulletin* of March 20, ff. The papers gave generous and nearly complete coverage to the trial.

16. J. E. Hale, reporter, *Reports of Cases determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California* (San Francisco, 1906), XXXV, 89. The case is 35 C 89.

17. Wilkins, *loc. cit.*

18. San Francisco *Real Estate Review*, December 12, 1868.

19. *Alta California*, April 3, 1867.

20. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

22. President Gilman had been a pupil of Lieber's and a boarder with his family as a student, and it was natural that Lieber's widow should offer the library to the University of California through Gilman.

23. Casper T. Hopkins, "The California Recollections of Casper T. Hopkins," California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XXVII (December, 1948), 341.

24. Wilkins, *loc. cit.*

25. San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 29, 1873.

26. *Minutes of the Regents*, I, 305.

27. Hopkins, *loc. cit.*

28. "Riptides," San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 9, 1950.

29. In 1872 Reese had been a director of Ralston's abortive San Francisco and Colorado Railroad. When Ralston was making heavy purchases of Spring Valley Water Company, it was Reese who loaned him large sums to make his purchases. There is conclusive evidence (see Stuart Daggett, *Chapters in the History of the Southern Pacific* [New York, 1922], p. 117) that Reese was acting directly for

Leland Stanford when he brought suit against former governor and senator Milton S. Latham for alleged misconduct while general manager of the California Pacific Railroad. The San Francisco *Chronicle*, August 8, 9, 16, 25, 1874, gives details on the suit.

30. This information was brought forth at the board of equalization hearings, June 23, 1876, when Assessor Badlam was questioning Reese on his operations. San Francisco *Call*, June 24, 1876.

31. The hearing was well covered and reported by the San Francisco *Call*, June 24, 1876.

32. San Francisco *Call*, June 25, 1876.

33. The Will of Michael Reese, from the Estate of Michael Reese, deceased, Probate No. 174, Microfilm No. P-6A, Hall of Justice and Records for San Mateo, Redwood City, California.

34. Details of Reese's death and burial are from a letter of Joseph Goldsmith of Munich to Louis Goldsmith of New York (a husband of one of Reese's nieces). Copy in the Mrs. Amelia Ransome Neville *Scrapbook*, No. 20, p. 75, California Historical Society.

35. The story in its various forms reappears continually in the materials relating to Reese. If repetition were the measure of truth, the story would certainly be well established. It is nothing but an inaccurate, yet colorful and morbidly appropriate finale to Reese's career.

36. Inventory of the Estate of Michael Reese, Microfilm No. P-7A, Hall of Justice and Records, Redwood City.

37. San Francisco *Chronicle*, August 5, 1878.

38. Inventory of the Estate.

39. John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878), p. 426.

40. The best known of the group, Mark Hopkins, died without leaving a will.

41. *Time*, LXVI (November 28, 1955), 62-63.

42. The statue was built with a bequest of $10,000 made in the will of Joseph Rosenberg, Reese's nephew and clerk.

43. *Annual Report* of the secretary to the board of regents of the University of California, for the year ending June 30, 1881, p. 141.

44. Personal interview with Mrs. Dorothy Keller, head of the order department, University of California Library.

John Swett: *A Stranger in the Southland*

By NICHOLAS C. POLOS

THE SECOND YEAR of the Civil War was a stormy year in California. It must be remembered that southern sympathies were strong in California at that time. The California Legislature of 1861 numbered as its members fifty-seven Douglas Democrats, thirty-seven Southern Democrats, and but twenty-four Republicans.[1] The national conflict produced intense feeling which seemed to know little restraint. In Visalia, for example, Confederate sympathizers excoriated Lincoln as a "drooling, idiotic, imbecile."[2]

John Swett began his official duties as California State Superintendent of Public Instruction on the first Monday in December of 1862. He was thirty-two years of age and the youngest of all the state officials. In spite of his youthful age and political inexperience, he was grimly determined "to extend a free public-school system throughout the state of California."[3]

An expatriated New Englander, Swett was a Union man to the core, and he was outspoken about his Union sympathy. In a speech before the Union State Convention in Sacramento in 1862, he said:

> In defining my political position, I am a Union man. I have always been one. I should be recreant to my ancestors if I were not, for my grandfather was a good Union man who shouldered his musket in the Revolutionary War; and his bones would rise before me, if every fiber in my body were not for the Union.[4]

The firm loyalty of men like John Swett, the Civil War superintendent of public instruction in California, strengthened the bonds of the

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indivisible union, and California gold proved to be the bullion safe of the Republic.

The Civil War period was one of great development of public education in California. Peter T. Conmy argued that:

> This was due to two factors, namely,(1) the continued battle which was conducted by Swett to establish the New England type school system, and (2) the sociological effect of the stimulus of the war on education.[5]

Swett cleverly used the exigency of the present war emergency to plead for increased school taxes. He was convinced that unconditional outspoken loyalty for the country was to be found only in those sections where schools were most abundant—and where education was freest.[6] Here again he expressed his strong Union ties and sympathies. In this respect he said:

> South Carolina, true to her treasonable instincts, fires the signal gun of the rebellion. . . . Mississippi where "cotton is king" saves, above whiskey and bowie knives, one-fourth of a million for education. The rebellion is based on ignorance. The mad aristocrats of the South have inflamed the prejudices of an uneducated people until they have been driven into the fiery furnace of civil war.[7]

As the Civil War came to a close Swett desired to see for himself the condition of state school housing and California education in general. He energetically visited as many of the schools in the state as he could. This was in compliance with the Revised School Law of 1863, which authorized this action as follows:

> Requiring the Superintendent, during at least four months of the year to visit schools in different parts of the state, to attend County Institutes and to address public assemblies on subjects relating to Public Schools; and providing for the payment of traveling expenses.[8]

Swett extended his travels over a period of a year, and he was to realize that the educational situation differed widely in various parts of California. Besides his local visits, and trips to Stockton, Sacramento, Petaluma, and other areas, he made an educational junket to the "terra incognita" of southern California in February 1865.[9]

He came down south with some trepidation because Swett believed that Confederate sympathies were very strong in the southland. During the early part of the Civil War a Confederate flag had waved undisturbed in Los Angeles, as well as in other nearby towns, the Union men in that section being perhaps in the minority.

After a delightful voyage of forty-two hours on the vessel *Brother*

Jonathan, Swett landed in the new and thriving town of Wilmington on the bay of San Pedro. From there he took the stage and made the three-hour ride to the old city of Los Angeles. He found Los Angeles "basking in the warm sunshine at the foot of a picturesque range of mountains in all the lazy lovliness of a semi-tropical climate."[10] He was not impressed with the city, and described it "as a singular compound of adobe walls, covered by shocking bad 'tiles,' . . . all presenting a mixed appearance like the people who lived there."[11]

While Swett was in Los Angeles he visited all the public schools. His report on the educational conditions of the city is spiced with humor and admonitions. He found that out of a total of 1,095 children, ages 4 to 18, only 156 students attended the public schools on the average. He found a shortage of Willson's charts, pianos, calisthenics materials, and school libraries. He argued that, since there was wealth in Los Angeles, there was little reason for these shortages.[12] Swett was also displeased with the small school for Negro children which had no equipment nor desks, but only board seats around the wall. When describing the Los Angeles schools Swett said:

> Los Angeles has two well-built brick school-houses, both furnished with school desks of a very unique and antique pattern—a model of which ought to be sent to the Patent Office—admirably adjusted to twist the spines of growing girls, and break the backs and weary the legs of the sturdier boys.[13]

He visited schools in the San Gabriel district and in the vicinity of Wilmington, Phineas Banning's city, and found these to be good, well built, well furnished, and well taught. He was not able to visit the El Monte district, but of this he said:

> We were disappointed in our intention to visit this noted district (Monte District, near Los Angeles), famous for being located on the most fertile tract of land in the country, and notorious for its lack of American citizens, and superabundance of Dixie patriots. The district is chiefly remarkable for its school quarrels, its frequent change of teachers, its refusal to employ loyal teachers, and its inability to find any "reps" [*sic*] who know enough to teach school creditably.[14]

Here again Swett overtly reveals his strong Union leanings.

He was not impressed with the educational achievements of Los Angeles County. The average daily attendance was only 362 students although there were 2,304 children between the ages of 4 and 18 in the county. The maximum tax of $2.00 per child (a levy of 26 cents per 100 dollars) was not enough to supply proper school equipment or libraries. In his disappointment Swett said: "It cannot be said that Los Angeles County offers to families any superior school facilities as an inducement to settle there."[15]

Before he left the Los Angeles area, however, he admitted that the area was rich in "great expectations," and writing about the scenery of southern California to his wife he said:

> March 3, 1865
>
> My Dear Wife,
>
> The weather has been fine, but quite cold. I have found many pleasant people, and think I have done something for the schools. I am beginning to want to get home because I miss you and the baby. I wish you were here to see this beautiful country.[16]

He traveled by stage through the valley to San Bernardino; and although he enjoyed the mountain setting, he found San Bernardino to be "a scattered village that never aspired to be called a city." Here again he was disappointed in the educational achievements of the county. The county had nine schools and only 302 pupils or 28 per cent of the children of school age attended school.[17] He found that equipment was scarce, and existing equipment in very poor condition. In describing the San Bernardino schools Swett said:

> The town of San Bernardino proper has two schools attended by seventy-five scholars. The school-houses are not elegant, but tolerably comfortable; the desks are the roughest, meanest, rickety, broken-down looking substitutes for seats which ever disgraced a school-room, or a community pretending to be civilized. . . . When we went to school there used to be a punishment in vogue called "sittin on nothin" [sic], it was preferable to San Bernardino desks.[18]

He expressed the hope that when the tax was collected ($2.00 per child, 30 cents per hundred dollars) that the school trustees would use the old school furniture for kindling and would order equipment for both the city schools. He found the county schools to be as poorly equipped, and left San Bernardino grimly determined to look into this when he returned to the home office.

Swett then traveled via overland stage from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara. This was an arduous journey which took all day and part of the night. The weather was cold, and no food was served on the trip; therefore Swett was not in high humor when he arrived in Santa Barbara. He described the town as "a fossil old town covered with 'tiles' looking like some old centenarian under a shocking bad hat."[19] Here too he was to find disappointment in the educational achievements of the public schools. Santa Barbara had two public schools: one for boys and one for girls. Swett found the boys' school to be a comfortable brick schoolhouse poorly furnished where the children spoke in their mother tongue, Spanish, and who "were not remarkable for either order or scholarship."[20]

The girls' school violated his sensibilities and angered him. It was a low, mean, unventilated adobe room, about 15 by 20 feet, and housed 50 to 60 girls. The rent was $5.00 per month. Swett's judgment of this school was that "it was a libel on the town and a disgrace to the trustees."[21]

He did not visit the school at San Buenaventura, but found time to stop in and see the school in the Montecito District (about four miles from Santa Barbara). He was pleased with this school not only because it had a neat brick schoolhouse which was well furnished and well taught, but also because it had the only school library south of San Francisco. In his travels in and about Santa Barbara, John Swett found the same poor educational conditions that existed further south. Only 171 children out of 1,370 children attended the public school in that county and the tax (10 cents per 100 dollars) was the smallest county tax raised by any county in the state.[22] Before he left Santa Barbara, Swett said:

> Santa Barbara can boast of perhaps the very finest climate in California, and of the unexcelled thriftlessness and indolence of its native population; but not of the efficiency of its public schools.[23]

Swett was soon to find as he journeyed north that many of the schools were not much better than Santa Barbara. He found San Luis Obispo, for example, to be a dilapidated town with a broken down schoolhouse that used empty claret boxes for seats. He visited many towns and found that poor school conditions were prevalent. In regard to San Jose he said:

> It is not creditable to San Jose that she has remained so long in prosperity and wealth without a public school-house worthy of the name.[24]

On the whole, however, although Californians were not overly enthusiastic about educational matters, neither were they hostile; and the friends of the free school were not considered fanatics. In other areas along the frontier this was not so. For example, the superintendent of public instruction of the state of Washington wrote:

> Frontier attitudes toward learning can be illustrated in the early history of the Pacific Northwest. In 1881 the Washington Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction learned from the citizens of Stevens County that a school had been built there in 1862, and that ever since, the prairie on which it was located had been called "Fool's Prairie."[25]

California, however, was different, and in time many changes were accompanied with new ideas and new expectations.

Prior to Swett's trip to southern California he had explained his educational philosophy in an address titled "Duties of the State to the Public School." In that address he said:

> At a time like the present when the nation is one vast camp of instruction for armed men; when argument has ended in the right of appeal to trial by battle . . . It is an axiom in education that the great majority of people can be well educated only by a system of Free Public Schools, supported by law, in which the "property" of the state is taxed to educate the children of the State. . . . California has not yet reached the liberality and democracy of the colonial settlers of New England, "for not one-half of her Public Schools are Free Schools," . . . So that the State Government makes the munificent provision of one dollar and three mills per scholar for educating the children of California.[26]

This speech explains in part the purpose of Swett's trip to the southland. In sharp contrast to his long and rough journey in the southern half of the state was his visit to the San Francisco schools, where he had been the moving spirit in educational affairs from 1853 to 1863. It is to his credit that he tried to spread his educational progress in that city to other parts of the state.

When Swett returned from his travels from foreign lands (southern California), he immediately prepared recommendations for what he considered sorely needed legislation.

His first biennial report was presented to Governor Low in 1865. It was the longest and most elaborate of his reports. In 422 pages Swett described the educational conditions of the state of California. In this report he recommended that the great area and scattered population left no alternative but to try to develop a system of education on a state basis. His trip of inspection of the southland convinced him that many of the districts in that area had failed to do their duty, and had failed to fulfill their educational obligations to the children. In the light of this failure he said:

> In general this system [district] produced the most general indifference to

> education on the part of all concerned; it prevented the establishment of any general standards; it fostered a pernicious and mean spirit, and it proved the greatest obstacle to technical educational advance.[27]

Many of the Eastern characteristics of the district school were transplanted to California, and especially to southern California. It was these Eastern disadvantages that Swett hoped to destroy by creating in its place a different pattern of education which retained local control but which at the same time provided state surveillance of the county and district and tied these with strings of legalism to the state.[28]

John Swett accepted as axiomatic the view that there was an appropriate form of education for every society. He was aware of the fact that many of the educational practices developed in the East were unsuitable to the new frontier, to California; and he felt that the Californians, both northern and southern, should develop a very special kind of school and education appropriate to the new environment.

He was a nationalistic patriot, and as far as he was concerned the cause of education was the cause of patriotism everywhere in California especially in the southland which he regarded with suspicion.

John Swett was not a "bird of passage," like many of the adventurers who had come to California in search of elusive gold. He had worked for years in California to build that most cohesive of social institutions—the school. He managed, where others had failed, to sell the idea of public support for education in California. The idea was not original. It was part of his intellectual baggage which he had brought with him from New England. He had been influenced by Horace Mann, and in this respect he merits the title of "The Horace Mann of California," who once said: "When anything is growing, one 'former' is worth a thousand re-formers."[29]

NOTES

1. William D. Simonds, *Starr King in California* (San Francisco, 1917), p. 57. For a description of the "Secesh" faction, see Elijah Kennedy, *Contest For California* (New York, 1912), p. 69; Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "California and the Civil War: A Bibliographical Essay," *CHSQ*, XL (December, 1961), 290-94.

2. William D. Simonds, *Starr King*, p. 58.

3. John Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York, 1911), p. 148. Note that this is Swett's autobiography.

4. California, *Proceedings of the Union State Convention,* 1862, p. 16. John Swett's speeches are permeated with Union patriotism. In the same speech he said: "You will never make California union to the backbone until you have a school system so thorough that all the people shall be brought into the schools and thoroughly Americanized." *Loc. cit.*

5. Peter T. Conmy, *A History of Public School Support in California, 1849-1933* (Ed.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), p. 59.

6. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Aug. 18, 1862, p. 8.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1863,* California, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 22. "The salary of the Superintendent is nominally three thousand dollars, payable in State scrip, worth, . . . equivalent in cash to about two thousand dollars. Deduct from this the loss on travelling expenses, and one thousand seven hundred dollars is a fair cash estimate of the amount of salary the Superintendent actually draws from the State." *Ibid.*, p. 77.

9. "We of Southern California," writes Max Miller, "are foreigners to Northern California. We are two separate countries." Carey McWilliams, *California: The Great Exception* (New York, 1949), p. 19.

10. John Swett, "Educational Matters in the Southern Counties," *The California Teacher,* II (May, 1865), 269.

11. *Ibid.*, II, 269.

12. *Ibid.*, II, 270.

13. *Ibid.*, II, 270.

14. *Ibid.*, II, 271.

15. *Ibid.*, II, 272.

16. John Swett, Los Angeles, Calif., to Mary Tracy Swett, San Francisco, Calif., March 3, 1865, A.L.S., 2 pp., found in the Swett Collection, Hill Girt Farm, Martinez.

17. John Swett, "Educational Matters in Southern Counties," *The California Teacher,* II (May, 1865), 273.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, II, 274.

20. *Ibid.*, II, 275.

21. *Ibid.*, II, 275.

22. *Ibid.*, II, 277.

23. *Ibid.*, II, 276.

24. *Ibid.*, II, 279.

25. *Annual Report, 1881,* Washington, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 28.

26. California, *Proceedings of the Third State Teachers' Institute,* 1863, pp. 75-87.

27. Paul Monroe, *The Founding of the American Public School System* (New York, 1940), p. 280.

28. For a full explanation of the school district in California see Lawrence E. Turner, "The School District in California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1946), p. 33; Harry Emerson Butler, Jr., "Statutory Provisions for School District Organization in California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1961).

29. John Dewey, *School and Society* (Chicago, 1943), p. 7.

New Books

Aurelia Henry Reinhardt: Portrait of a Whole Woman. By George Hedley. (Oakland, Mills College, 1961. 311 pp. $12.95.) Reviewed by Martha Boaz.

"She was the most vital person I ever knew." That, said the author, was an exact quotation about Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, but it was used by so many people that it permitted no single footnoting. Other phrases used about this veritable dynamo of a woman were "a great zest for living," "tremendous energy," "alive in her whole being." Aurelia Reinhardt was president of Mills College at Oakland, California, for twenty-seven of her almost seventy-one years.

Born on April 1, 1887, Aurelia was the daughter of William Warner Henry, proprietor of a wholesale grocery business in San Francisco. In the years of her childhood and girlhood her family lived in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jacinto, Escondido, and Berkeley. Her father and mother were engaged in various business enterprises including the wholesale grocery, hotel and restaurant, and dry goods businesses.

Aurelia attended Boys' High School in San Francisco and in 1894 was admitted to the University of California; she received the B.L. degree from that institution in 1898. In that year she was appointed instructor in elocution and physical culture in the University of Idaho at Moscow. From this time to the end of her life she was engaged in some type of educational activity. In 1901 she returned to student life by enrolling as a graduate student at Yale University. It was somewhat rare for a woman to be admitted to Yale at that time, but Aurelia Henry was persistent and after being admitted she continued her studies until 1905 when she was granted the Ph.D. degree by Yale. After finishing the residence requirements, she accepted the "Chair of English" in the Lewiston State Normal School in Idaho. She continued in this position until her resignation in 1908 when she went to Phoenix, Arizona, with her brother Paul who was ill. After Paul's death in 1909, Aurelia married George Frederick Reinhardt, a physician in Berkeley, whom she had known for more than nineteen years, from the spring of 1890 when they had been neighbors in San Jacinto. The marriage was a short one, ended by George Frederick Reinhardt's death on June 7, 1914.

Mrs. Reinhardt was left with two young sons, George Frederick, Jr., and Paul Henry Reinhardt. In September, 1914, the mother was appointed instructor in English in the extension division of the University of California. On April 20, 1916, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt was elected president of Mills College. "I was the first college president," Mrs. Reinhardt said, "who arrived on the campus pushing a perambulator." A house was made available to her on the campus, and her presidential salary was set at $300.

Although her twenty-seven years at Mills included two world wars and a great depression, President Reinhardt accomplished a great deal for the college. The enrollment figures tell an eloquent story. There had been 153 students in 1915-16; the total reached 624 in 1927 and remained at this level twenty-nine years afterward.

It was a tribute to Aurelia Reinhardt that in 1917 Mills College was elected to membership in the Association of American Universities and Colleges. During her years as president, Mrs. Reinhardt was active in various organizations. In 1923 she was president of the American Association of University Women. She was a delegate to the World Federation of National Associations in Edinburgh in July of 1925; she was active in politics, serving as presidential elector on the Republican ticket; in October 1929 she was a delegate to a conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Tokyo; in April 1931 she served as a delegate to Council of International Federation of University Women at Wellesley College; and in 1936 she was elected as a delegate on the Republican National Convention on the Warren Ticket. These include only a few of her many activities. In recognition of her services she was named by Durward Hewes as one of the ten outstanding American Women of 1940.

During the years, she demonstrated her energy and endurance. A few sample days are pointed out by biographer George Hedley who says she began Tuesday, March 15, 1932, with successive conferences with the college physician, the librarian, and the plant manager. Into the morning were fitted also separate interviews with two faculty members and a student. She was hostess to five luncheon guests, and then saw a junior instructor. She met with a faculty committee at 2:30, and had two more office appointments in the late afternoon. Then she went to dinner in Berkeley and wound up the evening at Mrs. Sigmund Stern's in San Francisco. College, high school, women's clubs, international affairs, music, literature, public welfare, politics—she was interested in all of these.

How could she do so much? She was a big strong woman, five feet nine inches tall, a hundred and sixty pounds in her middle years. No one knew her almost frenetic energy as her secretaries did. They were subject to call at any time and they were regularly taken on out-of-town trips. She never learned to drive a car. At one time the college chauffeur tried to give her lessons, but he soon saw that it was hopeless to expect her to pay attention to traffic when the world contained so much that was so much more interesting.

The author points out that being merciless to herself, Aurelia granted no toleration to illness in others. "Mr. ———— is at home indulging himself in a cold," she would say with undisguised scorn. Even in her final year at the college there was no apparent let-up for her. Her last chauffeur, Jesse DeGroot, spoke of her schedule, which was an impossible one, but which had to be met. He like many others was driven almost crazy by her, but as he said they could not help but love her. "The leading lady was capricious, unpredictable, incessantly demanding; and her caprice was accepted, her unpredictability was admired, her demands were fulfilled."

She retired as president of Mills College in 1943 and died in 1948 in Palo Alto, California. She was a dynamic, energetic, intelligent leader in the field of education; she was a capable and aggressive college president; she was a vivacious and charming woman, Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.

This biography, designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy and published in a limited edition of 1000 copies by Mills College, was written by George Hedley, who worked under the administration of Aurelia Reinhardt during the last three and a half years of her presidency. His book is an example of careful research and of good writing. The appendices contain valuable information in the chronology, in the family genealogy of the Henrys, Merritts, and Reinhardts, in the bibliography of the writings of Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, and in his notes on sources. This is a splendid biography of a leader among California women, "a whole woman," Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.

Martha Boaz, second vice-president of the Lummis Association, is dean of the School of Library Science at the University of Southern California. Dean Boaz is the author of *Fervent and Full of Gifts: The Life of Althea Warren.*

The California Dons. By Edna Deu Pree Nelson. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. 308 pp. $5.50.) Reviewed by Harold F. Taggart.

This is an unusual book. While, as the author states (p. 295) the *California Dons* is not a history of California, the story of the seven military men involves much of the history of California from 1760 to 1848. In a way the book records the contributions of José Francisco de Ortega, Juan Pablo Grijalva, José Antonio Yorba, Antonio María Lugo, Luis Antonio Argüello, Mariano Guadelupe Vallejo, and Pío Pico to the exploration, settlement, and possession of California during the Spanish and Mexican period. Since three of the men occupy positions of lesser importance, they emerge more as puppets buffeted about by the demands of political decisions.

The advance into Alta California, with the establishment of the presidio and the founding of the first mission at San Diego and the expedition of Gaspar de Portolá in search of the bay at Monterey, is attributed to the Spanish apprehension of Russian conquest of the American continent. Perhaps the experience of later years influenced the thought of the author, for by 1769 the Russians occupied not a post on the mainland of America. To say (p. 7) that "the startling news that Russia was planning to invade California," and (p. 26) that Catherine II was ambitious to extend Russian territory to the tip of California, is poetic license. Catherine was interested in the power politics of Europe. About all that Shelikov, the aggressive merchant adventurer, received from Catherine, in spite of all of his petitions, were a sword and a medal. José de Gálvez, *visitador-general,* who is responsible for the colonization of Upper California, simply used the myth of Russian expansion as an excuse.

The book shows a great deal of research. At times the history is a bit fuzzy, lacking definite dates and specific identification of places, as for example, when the author follows Ortega in his search for a trail from San Diego to Monterey Bay in 1769. Nevertheless, the reader is given a good idea of the hardiness of the Dons, the constant conflict between missionaries and the military, the resentment of the padres toward the establishment of any pueblo, the remoteness of California from the authorities at Mexico City, and the hunger of the Dons for land upon which to raise their cattle. Early immigration by foreigners, such as Joseph Cooper, John Cooper, William Richardson, and William Hartnell, is noted with appropriate stories.

The parts that Ortega and Grijalva played in the exploration and settlement of California are more adequately treated; they emerge as real individuals. Vallejo and Pico are discussed rather superficially. As persons they all remain somewhat hazy. The insecurity of California in the face of international rivalries is emphasized, especially in the sections on Vallejo and Pico, the former in support of American occupation, the latter seeking protection of Great Britain.

The author is overly generous with colorful adjectives; a typical example (p. 8): "... they saw the sun spread magic across the western sky—gold, purple, orange silk, violet brocades, scarlet damasks, all the colorful fabrics carried by Manila Galleons tossed over sea and islands, carpeting the barren land with green where there were no pastures, showering waste places with roses of Castile where no roses grew." Conversations, invented of course, have a stilted and unrealistic ring.

Aside from a few liberal interpretations of history and a critical attitude toward the missionaries and their "greed for land," the book gives a pretty good picture of social conditions, the rivalries among the military leaders, the mobility of soldier and priest, and the beginnings of the pueblos and ranchos. There are a few slips: Santa Barbara (p. 68) is not north of San Buenaventura; Fort Ross was (and is) not ten miles inland (p. 202); and again when the author says (p. 48) that Ortega, then at San Diego, was ordered to Lower California to bring up supplies and to deliver tar from the bubbling pits near San Gabriel, a difficult task when one remembers that San Gabriel is a distance north of San Diego. The index is limited.

The sympathetic and romantic approach may not appeal to the reader who wants his history in logical sequence and documented, but all in all the story of the seven Dons is pleasant reading.

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People Versus Lugo—Story of a Famous Los Angeles Murder Case and Its Amazing Aftermath. By W. W. Robinson. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1962. 46 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Paul M. DeFalla.

Mr. Robinson's slender book is one of a series of works describing famous California trials being published by Dawson's Book Shop. The first half of the book's title indicates indeed that the story the book tells will be about a trial at law. However, no trial at law is involved, making the second half of the title more accurate in describing the story-content of Mr. Robinson's work. The story is certainly about a murder case—but a case in which the legal proceedings never get beyond the arrest of the suspects, a preliminary examination of the prosecution's case in a justice court, and a hearing on a motion to admit the defendants to bail. Then, once the motion was granted and the suspects admitted to bail, the defense lawyers went to work. During a period covering twenty months time, not only did these lawyers quash the original preliminary proceedings, but also a grand jury indictment issued against their clients, and a second lower court proceedings. Thus, the people of the state of California were never allowed to establish whether or not the suspects, Chico and Menito Lugo, scions of a very prominent and very rich Southern California family, were in fact guilty of willfully and maliciously murdering one Pat McSwiggen and a Creek Indian named Sam on or about January 27, 1851. The victims, a pair of lowly teamsters, were traveling alone in the vicinity of Cajón Pass, an area then in Los Angeles County and now in San Bernardino County.

In 1851, in the Los Angeles area, according to Mr. W. W. Robinson, "Race feelings were strong and rampant"—so strong and rampant that two months after the Lugo boys had been admitted to bail, "There were still Americans in Los Angeles who would not object to seeing these defendants lynched"—thus clearly implying, within the context of his story, that these so-called race feelings were really at the bottom of the drama involving the Lugo scions. Mr. Robinson, however, does not make out this case.

True, the Lugo boys had been American citizens only about three years, previously having been Mexican citizens (prior to the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty by Mexico and the United States). Also, the Lugo family was part of the so-called "Californio" group, a group containing elements which a short four years before had risen up in arms against the invading Americans and had thrown the Americans out of Los Angeles, making a reconquest of the city necessary. Now two members of this Californio group had allegedly killed an American, with an Indian thrown in to boot—and Mr. Robinson clearly implies in his book that at this point the American conquerors insisted that American justice take its course—or run the risk that the Californios would get out of hand.

But it appears that not all of these conquering Americans were of the same mind on this issue, for there immediately arose American lawyers to defend the Californio Lugos—and a good job they did of it. Nor were all Californios of the same mind, either, for there immediately arose one Californio named Ysidro Higuera who tried his level best to securely pin the murder of American McSwiggen and Indian Sam on fellow-Californios Chico and Menito Lugo—men who had been, in fact, his friends.

Even the Indians of the Southern California region, as a group, showed mixed reactions to the race factor in the Lugo case. The Lugo boys had allegedly murdered a fellow-Indian of theirs, Sam; yet these Indians showed no hesitancy in killing a certain "Captain" Jack Irving, an American, who, in attempting to lynch the Lugo boys, would also be attempting to avenge the murder of Sam the Creek Indian. Clearly, something other than race-feelings, however "strong and rampant," were at the bottom of the drama—perhaps such things as the possible fact that the Lugo boys were probably known to Californio and American alike in the Los Angeles area as roughnecks and villains, although prominent and rich roughnecks and villains. But as Leslie T. White said in his book "Me, Detective," it is impossible "to convict a million dollars," as he found out while working as an investigator with the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office during the early thirties. In the Lugo case, the rich Lugo boys were not only not convicted—they could not even be brought to trial.

In his book, Mr. W. W. Robinson makes a gallant partial attempt at elevating the literary style of history to the rank of fiction by using the "flash-back" method of telling a story—a method which in the case of the Lugo affair, makes it necessary for the reader to take pencil and pad in hand and make notes in order to get the story straight. Once this is done, however, everything becomes clear—upon a second reading of the book. In all other respects, the book is very well written—and informative; a book which throws a ray of light into an extremely interesting period in the development of civil society in California.

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Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1826-27. Edited by K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson. Introduction by Dorothy O. Johansen. (London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961. 255 pp. No price indicated.) Reviewed by Gloria Griffen Cline.

Peter Skene Ogden was, undeniably, one of the greatest explorers of the Trans-Mississippi West. In his capacity as leader of the Hudson's Bay Company's famed Snake Country expedition during the years 1824-30, Ogden trapped much of the country between the present-day United States-Canadian border and the Gulf of California, thus contributing more to geographical knowledge regarding much of this previously unexplored area than any other single individual, with the possible exception of Jedediah Smith.

The excellent journals which Ogden kept while in the field were upon their completion sent to London, England, to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and have remained in the archives of that organization until the recent period. However, shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, transcriptions of these diaries were made by Miss Agnes Laut and were edited for publication in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* in 1909 and 1910 by T. C. Elliott. Unfortunately, Miss Laut's transcriptions were not verbatim copies of the superb Ogden journals which include day-by-day entries containing not only commercial information but shrewd observations on human nature as well as much valuable ethnographic and anthropological data. Thus the Laut-Elliott transcriptions did little to interpret and to shed light upon the remarkable activities of Peter Skene Ogden.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society, realizing the importance of Ogden's writings to the history of the American West, published in 1950 Ogden's Snake Country journals for 1824-25 and 1825-26 and has more recently published (1961) Ogden's account of his third Snake Country expedition, that of 1826-27. The latter journal physically resembles the format of the previous Record Society publications, being a handsome volume in black binding with the Hudson's Bay Company's crest and pertinent lettering in gold.

Ogden's 1826-27 journals, edited by Professor K. G. Davies and Miss A. M. Johnson, Company archivist, are brilliantly introduced to the reader by Dorothy O. Johansen, professor of history at Reed College. Miss Johansen in her introduction presents a good, general description of the Trans-Mississippi fur trade and the Anglo-American commercial rivalry which was developing in this region during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Skillfully, Miss Johansen describes the reorganization of the Columbia Department, the "American problem," and the attempts by the British to combat the American thrust to the Pacific.

One of the chief contributions of Miss Johansen's Introduction is her presentation of Ogden's and Sir George Simpson's geographical ideas concerning the region south of the forty-eighth parallel. Heretofore, even the most erudite scholars of cartographic history have only hesitatingly hinted at the belief of the Hudson's Bay Company men in the mythical rivers of the Trans-Mississippi West and did not dare to infer that the leaders of the Snake Country and Umpqua brigades were, in part, searching for the fabled San Buenaventura River. Here, for the first time, it is argued convincingly that due to the prevailing geographical ideas on the Columbia regarding the area to the south, the Snake Country and the Umpqua expeditions during the middle 1820's were considered as complements to each other, not as competitors operating in a defined region, as Ogden's later diaries have lead scholars to believe. Thus in accordance with this new concept that the activities of the Snake Country and Umpqua expeditions have an important bearing upon each other, Appendix B and C include Alexander McLeod's journals of his first and second Umpqua expeditions.

The other appendixes are extremely valuable: Appendix A presents Snake Country correspondence for the year 1826; Appendix D presents correspondence relating to the area south of the Columbia and the Umpqua for the same year; and Appendix E gives an account of sundries supplied to the Snake expedition outfit of 1826. Added to this, one finds in the back pocket, two excellent maps. One is a landform map of Oregon drawn by Erwin Raiz which gives the reader a detailed, visual presentation of the country through which Ogden and McLeod traveled. The second map denotes the routes followed by Ogden in 1826-27 and those followed by McLeod during the course of his 1826 and 1826-27 expeditions, indicating clearly the trails in relation to present-day political entities. Thus this most recent publication by the Hudson's Bay Record Society lives up to the same high standards that have denoted the work of the company in the past and formulates a major contribution to Western American historiography that will be used and quoted by scholars for many years to come.

Gloria Griffen Cline, assistant professor of history at Sacramento State College, is the author of *Exploring the Great Basin* which was recently published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

A Focus on Rebellion: Materials for Analysis. Edited by Albert T. Anderson and Bernice Prince Biggs. (San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Company, 1962. xi, 238 pp. $2.15.) Reviewed by John Walton Caughey.

The key to an understanding of this book is contained in the subtitle, "Materials for Analysis." One finds representative samples of first-hand descriptions, testimony by participants in almost every role, condemnatory comment on both sides, and more detached appraisals. Study of these variant statements, it is hoped, will be good practice in applying scholarly method. From them certain untruths can be sifted out. On the subject as a whole or on some section of it the student may then construct an account. In his account he will recognize some assertions as conjectural, others as probable or highly probable, and a residue as clothed with reasonable certitude. This casebook method is a stimulating way to study. It is at its best when applied to a problem on which there has been sharp disagreement.

Albert Anderson and Bernice Biggs found just such a *cause celèbre* in the San Francisco episode of May, 1960, which began with a student picket line at a hearing by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The students found the gallery packed. Their protest brought out the police, the firehoses, forcible ejection, and arrest. The chain of events went on to the trials, the contrived reportage in *Operation Abolition,* a counterblast of much smaller circulation in *Operation Correction,* and spirited debate that spread as far afield as Los Angeles and Galesburg, Illinois.

The readers of the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society are not about to enroll in a class in which *A Focus on Rebellion* will be practiced on in the casebook fashion. But to us as mature historians such a compilation does have value.

One value is as a challenge. Bias, as we all know, is one of the worst handicaps to a historian. On this overzealous demonstration or overzealous police action that occurred in San Francisco almost everyone of us has an opinion, is to some extent prejudiced, and may be opinionated. Is it possible to suspend this prejudgment and measure the conflicting testimony with cold reason? I for one found it an interesting experiment as I pondered the selections that make up *A Focus.* The challenge is to rise above bias.

A second value is on quite a different level. Whether we like it or not, what happened on that thirteenth of May is of consequence in our history. The *Chronicle* did not err the next morning when it gave the whole front page to boxcar headlines "400 Cops Battle Mob at City Hall," and to a picture of falling students and falling water at the grand exit from City Hall.

As readers of history we are accustomed to having the makers of books weigh the evidence and point the conclusions. Anderson and Biggs deny themselves that privilege. They must, I suppose, if their book is to serve its purpose as a workbook. They do not desert their position of impartiality even to point out that some of the interpretations quoted are outrageously contrary to verified facts established in the direct testimony. The reader, including the historian reader, may be better off in being left the job of assessing these many-sided observations, self-serving and otherwise. Thinking his own way through the maze, he may come to a surer knowledge and a more defensible explanation of why all concerned behaved as they did.

John Walton Caughey, professor of American history at the University of California at Los Angeles, is the editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* and author of a dozen volumes on California and Western History.

Bigler's Chronicle of the West. Edited by Erwin G. Gudde. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. 135 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by R. Coke Wood.

In this delightful little book of 135 pages, Erwin Gudde has answered a question that has been on my mind for several years. The question is why did this poorly educated and almost illiterate wandering Mormon, Henry Bigler, keep a diary? Few historians have known enough about Henry Bigler to realize that his diary about the exciting events that occurred at Coloma on January 24, 1848, was only one of many diaries and accounts of his experiences which he wrote over the years of his life. He apparently had a keen sense of the historical significance of the events of the period through which he was living. Mr. Gudde makes clear that through his studies of the various diaries and documents written by Bigler, he has developed a keen appreciation for the honesty and modesty of the rough old Mormon.

The average reader will enjoy the book for the information given by Bigler in his diary and the excellent editing by Mr. Gudde. Although some historians may feel that by editing out of the diary the misspelled words, the color and flavor of the original diary has been destroyed, the average reader will be grateful for the footnotes and background information given by the editor. It is through these explanations by the editor that we learn that historians discovered the exact date for gold discovery at Coloma. James Marshall, when asked a few years later about the date of gold discovery, stated that he had picked up the first nugget in the tail race of the mill on the American River on January 19, 1848. This date was used in all the older publications and was chiseled in the stone caption on the Marshall Monument at Coloma when it was erected. It was not until historians studied carefully Bigler's diary and found the notation for January 24, that on "this day some kind of mettle was found in the tail race that looks like gold," that they agreed on this date as the correct one.

No one interested in California or Western history should miss reading this book.

R. Coke Wood, professor of history at the University of the Pacific, is executive secretary of the Conference of California Historical Societies.

California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani from 1853 through 1871. Translated and edited by Ernest Falbo. (Portland, Oregon, The Champoeg Press, 1962. 148 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Frederick G. Bohme.

Once more a new travel account reminds us that the West was not settled entirely by Anglo-Saxons from the eastern United States, but that it attracted many foreigners as well. Leonetto Cipriani (1812-1888), an Italian royalist who was involved in French politics as well as in those of his beloved Tuscany, was born in Corsica but was at home in the world. A member of the Piedmontese general staff when its forces were defeated by the Austrians in 1849, Cipriani found the California Gold Rush an opportune change. He became the first Sardinian consul in San Francisco (nonsalaried, but prestigious), arriving in 1852. The account of his preparations and journey from Europe, a bumbling cattle drive from Missouri to California in 1853, comments on the Mormons, and the diary of a train trip from Quebec to San Francisco in 1871, are all presented here in the colorful language of a genuine extrovert. A 6′ 4″ giant, Cipriani describes his own voracious appetite and interesting bowel habits in vivid detail, down to the fifteen to twenty glasses of milk he consumed at one sitting as a cure for constipation. He is similarly candid in describing other people, but seems to have had little concern for accuracy—a failing only partially excused by the fact that Cipriani put his notes and diaries into narrative form many years later.

These, in turn, were loosely edited and published in 1934 as *Avventure della mia vita* (2 vols.; Bologna, Zanichelli), and unavailable in English until Dr. Falbo, professor of Italian at Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, selected, freely translated, and edited those portions of the work which deal with Cipriani's American affairs. The original manuscripts, still in existence, were not available to Dr. Falbo, and the reader at times feels a sense of frustration when reading some improbable passage: the word pictures of a rope stretched for two miles across the Platte River, held up only at a sand bar in mid-stream, or—by contrast—a steamboat crossing a forty-meter-wide [the original text reads "400"] Missouri River (at Omaha), raise no editorial eyebrow, although footnoting on the details of Cipriani's cattle drive is most meticulous. The translator's claim, "As far as South Pass, Cipriani's account is the record of an early—perhaps the earliest—cattle drive to California [in 1853], and therein lies its uniqueness and importance and perhaps the explanation of the deviation of his route from Fort Laramie" (p. 5), is nonsense, though. The Los Angeles *Star* estimated that some ninety thousand cattle moved from the Missouri frontier to the Sacramento Valley in 1852 by the same trail. The book's subtitle claims to deal with "the assembling of [Cipriani's] elegant prefabricated home in Belmont . . . later to become the Ralston Mansion." Cipriani did bring a prefabricated house from Italy, but this was erected on a small lot on Sutter Street, San Francisco, in 1852. He purchased property in Belmont in 1854 (only a footnote reveals this), but no connection is apparent.

Dr. Falbo preserves the diaries' foreign flavor by retaining some of Cipriani's curious spelling, yet careful proofreading should have eliminated such difficulties as "she averted me [*si scansò*]" (p. 40), "who had probably acquainted [*aveva . . . messo a lato*] him with Kossuth" (p. 41), "with no little affrontery [*sic*]" (p. 49), or "[straw] plating" (p. 66). The translation is good, the selections judicious, the editorial comment clear, and the identifications generally careful. One cannot fault Dr. Falbo for not recognizing Lieutenant David Dixon Porter as a soon-to-be-famous Civil War admiral, but it would be worth knowing that he translates *scudi* as "dollars," even though they were roughly equivalent in value. This thin volume is beautifully printed by Lawton Kennedy of San Francisco (except for some misspellings and several crucial footnote numbers which are missing from the text), yet for the price one would hope for a map.

FREDERICK G. BOHME, a doctoral graduate from the University of New Mexico and author of numerous historical articles, is presently Assistant at the Episcopal Church of St. Mary the Virgin, San Francisco.

The Cattle Kings. By Lewis Atherton. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1961. 308 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by Theodore Grivas.

Focusing primarily upon managerial aspects of the cattle industry during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Professor Atherton's *The Cattle Kings*, nonetheless, traces over many sentimentally familiar paths. This seems inevitable since in order to assess the cattlemen's influence on American culture (as the author defines his study) the owners and managers of the ranches cannot be analysed in isolation. Accordingly, the study examines the "Cattle Kingdom" through the eyes of its "kings."

In thirteen methodically planned and splendidly executed chapters, Professor Atherton meticulously dissects the cattleman's motives, his philosophy, and his influence on others. Strongly resembling interpretive essays, these chapters address themselves to such matters as the "lure" of the cattle industry, the existence and nature of a code of behavior of the men associated with this business, the effects of "Social Darwinism" on the ranges, the role and influence of women, and the financial aspects of the industry which ranged from the modestly simple business units initially employed to the emergence of vast corporate control. As one would expect with this type of study, the last few chapters are reserved for synthesis and conclusions, which in this case are expertly drawn.

The many impressive and colorful foreigners who invested in the cattle industry command some attention, as do the family members of the industrial rich who enjoyed the "hobby" of ranching. Many of the usual myths associated with the cattle industry are related and in customary fashion dispelled. The composite picture of the cattleman that does emerge from this study is not particularly startling. To those with a television sophistication on the subject, however, many points made in this work would be enormously illuminating. This is not to say that the work contributes nothing, for in many ways it is a fresh approach to a topic that has been quite overlooked. An analysis of the cattlemen, their thought and motives and their influence on American culture neatly indexed and under the cover of one book is in itself a contribution. Furthermore, the experienced and deft hand of Professor Atherton, who seemingly has consulted almost every reminiscence and biography of cattlemen available, adds authority to the work. One wonders, however, if the study would have been enhanced if along with the accounts of the cattlemen, the impression and observations of the cowboy and the noncattleman would have also been analysed? In any case, this work represents a substantial contribution to the literature of the cattle industry.

THEODORE GRIVAS is currently an associate professor of history at Sonoma State College at Cotati, California. A specialist in Western American history, Professor Grivas is the author of *Military Governments in California, 1846-1850,* which The Arthur H. Clark Company recently published.

Book Notices

WESTERN AMERICANA

By ANNA MARIE and EVERETT GORDON HAGER

TO INTRODUCE MAJOR CITIES here and abroad through a series of "Key" books, has become the goal of J. B. Lippincott, publishers. The city of Los Angeles has been signaled for this honor, and a particularly able job of narration has been accomplished by that doyen of Southern Californiana, W. W. Robinson. *The Key to Los Angeles* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1963. 128 pp., $2.95) is a small book, but it is filled with informative and substantial historical background materials that are well illustrated.

Rich dividends for students of anthropology and ethnology are to be found in five carefully researched bibliographies now available from the California State Department of Parks and Recreation, Division of Beaches and Parks, Sacramento, prepared under the direction of Francis A. Riddell. Teachers and librarians will particularly welcome this rich fund of informative materials assembled in generously illustrated booklets ranging from ten to thirty-three pages in text. The titles cover: *General Bibliography of the Indians of California, Indians of Northwestern California, Indians of Central California, Indians of Southern California,* and *Indians of Northeastern California.*

Also available upon request to the Resources Agency, Department of Parks and Recreation, Division of Beaches and Parks, the Interpretive Services Section, Sacramento, is another well prepared and illustrated booklet, *Archeological Report No. 7: The Archeology of the Western Pacific Railroad Relocation, Oroville Project, Butte County, California,* by W. H. Olsen and F. A. Riddel (Sacrament, February, 1963. 90 pp.).

The University of California Archaeological Survey has issued the findings of S. F. Cook, R. F. Heizer, and James T. Davis under the title of *Archaeological Survey No. 57* (Berkeley, University of California, Department of Anthropology, 1962. 64 pp.). Part I, *Chemical Analysis of the Hotchkiss Site,* is by Cook and Heizer; Part II, *The Rustler Rockshelter Site, a Culturally Stratified Site in the Mohave Desert,* is by Davis. The first site is located east of Oakley in the Sacramento Valley, and the second is at the northwestern end of Woods Mountains in San Bernardino County.

Pursuing the archaeological trend of this month's *Book Notices* is another which undoubtedly must be added to the list above noted. This is William J. Wallace's fine work, *Archaeological Explorations in the Southern Section of Anza-Borrego Desert State Park* (Sacramento, January, 1962. 31 pp.), which was issued by California State Department of Parks and Recreation, Division of Beaches and Parks.

San Fernando Valley enters the limelight—this time in a fine little brochure authored by W. W. Robinson. *Fabulous San Fernando Valley,* its sixteen pages enhanced with rare photographs selected by the author, will prove a valued addition to the growing list of material on the valley. It is available upon request to the Western Federal Savings and Loan Association, San Fernando Regional Office, 14600 Roscoe Boulevard, Panorama City.

The second of Lambert Florin's photographic haunting tours of ghost towns now appears in *Ghost Town Album* (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1962. 184 pp., $12.50). Townsites adorned with the odd and unbelievable names of *Wild Delirium, Pelican, Fiddletown,* and *Terrible Dunderberg* come alive through the magic of Florin's camera. Forgotten townsites in California, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, Washington, and Oregon have been captured within the pages of this book.

Pirates in Baja California (Mexico, G. Yamada, 1963. 16 pp., $1.00) authored by Peter Gerhard and sold by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, divulges that piracy contributed little to the decline of Baja California—the actual blame rests upon the American filibustering invasions and internal revolutionary activities. Backed by an interesting bibliography, a map, and the fine printing of Yamada, it is well worth the amazingly low price of one dollar. Those intrigued by piracy and tales of high adventure along our Pacific coasts should secure and read this instructive study by Peter Gerhard.

LINCOLNIANA

By MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL WAR ROUND TABLE OF LOS ANGELES

Lincoln: A Contemporary Portrait. Edited by Allan Nevins and Irving Stone. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1962. 226 pp. $4.50.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: *All but one of the twelve essays in this volume were written by Californians and, as Irving Stone explains in his introduction, they were published in book form "because a group of friends and Lincoln enthusiasts . . . wanted to do something to celebrate the Lincoln Sesquicentennial." The task of reviewing the volume was assigned to three members of the Civil War Round Table of Los Angeles by Justin Turner, past president of that organization. Each member-critic is identified immediately following those essays for which he is reviewer.*

In the opening essays Allan Nevins, the "dean" of historians on the middle period of nineteenth century American history, explains Lincoln's ideas of democracy. Democracy, Nevins points out, is not easily understood; it is a pretty complex kind of governmental system. It took a person of Lincoln's simplicity and practicality to explain its nature and meaning to his fellow Americans and to the world. He did this, not by lengthy discourses, but by actions and pithy comment at appropriate times. To Lincoln democracy was inherent in the American scheme of things; its tap roots were the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. He revered these documents, for they underscored his belief that "every man has a right to be equal to every other man." Lincoln never faltered in his faith in the democratic process even though he saw it as "an unending struggle, a hard, grueling battle," with many pitfalls and built-in weaknesses that played into the hands of bad men—politicians and demagogues. But Lincoln's closeness to the common man—of which he was one—convinced him that the majority of the people, when properly informed, could not be fooled for very long. And in his patient, down-to-earth manner, Lincoln became the greatest spokesman for democracy that America has ever produced.

In the two essays that follow Fawn Brodie and Harold Hyman describe the relationships which existed between Lincoln and two of his contemporaries: Thaddeus Stevens and Edwin M. Stanton. These men were among the most controversial of the President's associates, and much has been made over the years of their purported enmity toward Lincoln. Both authors seek to amend the record and do so in a very plausible fashion. Stevens is portrayed by Mrs. Brodie as a determined, impatient man who was irritated by Lincoln's slowness in acting on the emancipation question and as one who thought of him as "too easy and amiable." She sees the distinction between Lincoln and Stevens as a real and vital difference—one between the Conservative and the Radical wings of the Republican party. "It had something to do with timing and something to do with compassion," she asserts and she labels as a misconception the charge that Stevens was ever a vicious opponent of Lincoln. A stern Calvinist, Stevens hated "deviationists," and when, for example, a choice confronted him in the campaign of 1864 Stevens quickly became a vigorous supporter of Lincoln. "Let us forget that he ever erred, and support him with redoubled energy," Stevens is quoted as saying.

Hyman maintains that the relationship between Lincoln and Stanton was one of "fruitful co-operation rather than friction," and that Lincoln deliberately sought Stanton for the War Department post in 1862 because he needed a Secretary of War "who could correlate a thousand different problems, find solutions, and let Lincoln concentrate on policy while the generals took on the rebels." Lincoln recognized Stanton as one of the most astute lawyers of his generation, and the President, says Hyman, now gave Stanton "the Union as a client." Hyman points out that Stanton "showed the same thoroughness and dedication to the war task that had brought him such success at the bar." Stanton's impatience complemented Lincoln's forbearance. Stanton got the job done—usually by bullying his departmental staff. Hyman also makes the point that Stanton, unlike his most bitter critics, kept no diary and that these men have blackened Stanton's reputation unjustly. For both Lincoln and Stanton the war was the major experience of their lives. The case for Stanton should rest on the success of the war effort.

Mr. Monaghan reminds us in his essay on "Books and Libraries in Lincoln's Time," that, despite popular legend, Lincoln did not lack for reading material during his lifetime. The evidence is abundant that books—those containing trash as well as those with fine literature—plays, magazines, newspapers, and public documents, circulated widely even in frontier communities. And libraries, both private and public, grew apace. Attention is called to the fact that in the 1850's the United States had 15,615 libraries, of which 1217 were "public," and that 33 of these were in Illinois. As the author points out, "personal contact with, and constant sampling of, such a wide assortment of English writings, both in and out of public libraries, gave Lincoln a knowledge of English composition which led to his own immortal style."

Arthur R. Kooker is the chairman of the history department at the University of Southern California.

William E. Marsh's essay on "Lincoln and Henry W. Halleck" is an interesting brief account of Halleck's life, but unfortunately it has little on his relations with Lincoln, and this despite the author's statement that during the war no one was more intimately associated with the President than Halleck. Marsh's treatment of Halleck is generally sympathetic, but he does not pass over the sharp criticism made during his life time, nor does he claim undue credit for the general. Marsh calls Halleck "a master of military texts and a closet or study general" who had "neither taste nor capacity for directing an army in the field." He points out how disappointed Lincoln was when Halleck as general-in-chief failed to take responsibility, initiate plans, or make decisions, but defends him on the ground that he lacked authority and was only intended to be a military adviser. To Marsh, Halleck is "a mysterious person" who has been "sadly neglected by historians."

"Lincoln and Douglas: The Tangled Weave," by Norman Corwin, is concerned primarily with the Lincoln-Douglas debates and especially with the reputations and positions of the two rivals as public figures at the time. It is an interesting and valuable interpretation and reveals a real understanding and appreciation of Douglas whose heroic support of Lincoln as President "stamps him as a patriot of rare coinage."

Judge Sherrill Halbert's article on "Lincoln Suspends the Writ of Habeas Corpus," which is based upon a paper read before the American Society for Legal History, warmly defends Lincoln's suspension of the privilege of the writ as both necessary and constitutional because the fate of the nation was hanging in the balance. Whereas Taney in opposing Lincoln's action "focused the light of justice upon the individual liberty Americans so thoroughly cherish . . . Lincoln saved the nation without which all, including our liberty as individuals would have been lost." Judge Halbert rightly emphasizes that Lincoln honestly and sincerely believed that he had the right to do what he did and that he exercised this power reluctantly, but his statement that Lincoln did not order any general authorization for the suspension of the privilege of the writ outside the theater of the rebellion before the Habeas Corpus Act of March 3, 1863, seems to overlook Lincoln's order of September 24, 1862, which is nowhere mentioned in the article.

One of the best of the many fine essays in this volume is the one on "Lincoln's Humor" by Mort Lewis. It shows much understanding and appreciation of Lincoln's wit and reflects Lewis's life-long study of the subject. Lewis warns that only a fraction of the stories supposedly told by Lincoln actually were, but finds that enough true Lincoln stories survive the weeding out process to prove not only that "he could be a very funny man when he wanted to, but that he also had a creative sense of humor." Lincoln did not originate many of his stories, according to Lewis, but he did change or turn them to suit the occasion and "his quick wit could and did spark original spontaneous quips." Lewis makes some interesting suggestions about the sources of Lincoln's stories and points out that he used humor for a variety of purposes—to gain relief from the tensions of the tragic war, to make a point, to turn down a request without giving offense, as a lubricant to forestall friction.

All four of these essays are good reading and well worth the attention of any Lincoln student.

Brainerd Dyer is professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

In a brief essay packed with meaning, Justin Turner reviews the Hampton Roads Peace Conference of February, 1865. The documentation is complete, meticulous, and cogent. Turner gives the personality of Alexander H. Stephens revealing treatment, and he emphasizes Lincoln's willingness to negotiate on marginal matters. But the focus centers on the one vital point: Lincoln's determination that the South must first yield; it must cease its resistence and its rebellion against national authority; then within "a common country" votes and debates might ensue on difference of opinion within a Union restored. This is a fine clear treatment which shears away the contingent circumstances and shows why the conference failed—because of Lincoln's firmness in settling the real question in the way northern constitutionalism had seen it. The heart of the government was a Union, not a conglomeration of uniting states.

In a consideration of the most worthwhile treatments of Lincoln since Herndon's volume came out in 1889, Andrew Rolle shows that tides have ebbed and flowed in the biographical ocean as far as Lincoln lives are concerned. Expression ranges from the poetic words of Carl Sandburg to the sharp, dry detailed documentary retelling in Kenneth William's *Lincoln Finds a General*. But the main trend is evident: Lincoln has been humanized, exalted for his achievement; yet shown as a man who was one among men, who rose from and with them, and who challenged by destiny gave it a more than adequate response.

In twenty pages David Miller tells the story of the Sioux uprising in 1862 in Minnesota and of its tragic aftermath. For the first half of the tale the center of the stage is held by the Mdewakanton Sioux chief, Little Crow. Lincoln's military intervention leads to Indian defeat, the capture, trial and condemnation to death of three hundred and eight Indians. The story of Lincoln's revision of the verdict, of the hanging of thirty-eight, and of the end of the Indian war is well told. The essay ends with further intervention by Lincoln to lessen the scope of the revenge the white man hoped to take on the beaten Sioux. The Indian war was marginal to Lincoln in everything but his feelings for justice and mercy.

A poetess with due appreciation of what words can and can not do, Marianne Moore in a few pages shows that Lincoln depended on three things when he spoke or wrote: absolute insistence on clear, accurate thinking; ideas and conclusions in short, simple, well-known words; and thoughts filled with integrity and purity of word and life.

Francis Bowman is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Manuel P. Servín

BOOKS

BAUER, HELEN. *California Indian Days.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1963. $3.50

BEAN, LOWELL JOHN, and WILLIAM MARVIN MASON. *Diaries & Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California.* Palm Springs, California, Palm Spring Desert Museum, 1962. $10.00

BEEBE, LUCIUS. *The Central Pacific & the Southern Pacific Railroads.* Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1963. $15.00

California Manufacturers Annual Register, 1963. Los Angeles, Times-Mirror, 1963. $30.00

CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS. *The Irvine Ranch.* Revised by Robert V. Hine. San Marino, The Huntington Library, 1962. $5.00

CLINE, GLORIA GRIFFEN. *Exploring the Great Basin.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. $4.95

COWAN, ROBERT G. *The 31st State.* Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1962. $6.50

CRUMP, SPENCER. *Ride The Big Red Cars.* Los Angeles, Crest Publications, 1962. $12.50

DRURY, CLIFFORD M. *San Francisco YMCA, 1853-1953: One Hundred Years by the Golden Gate.* Glendale, The Arthur Clark Company, 1963. $8.00

GETTY, J. PAUL. *My Life and Fortunes.* New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1963. $5.95

GREEVER, WILLIAM S. *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. $5.95

GRIVAS, THEODORE. *Military Governments in California, 1846-1850.* Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. $8.50

HAMMOND, GEORGE P., ed. *The Larkin Papers, Volume VIII.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $9.00

HANSEN, HARVEY J., and JEANNE THURLOW MILLER. *Wild Oats in Eden: Sonoma County in the 19th Century.* Santa Rosa, California, 1962. No price indicated.

HODGES, RUSS. *My Giants.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1963. $4.50

HOLMES, MAURICE G. *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias, 1519-1668.* Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. $11.00

KLOSE, NELSON. *California: Basic History and Government.* San Francisco, Ken-Books, 1963. No price indicated.

MERK, FREDERICK. *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963. $5.95

Myrick, David F. *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California: Vol. 1—The Northern Roads.* Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1962. $12.50

Nadeau, Remi. *California—No. 1 State.* New York, David McKay Company, Inc., 1963. $5.95

Nelson, Maidee Thomas. *California, Land of Promise.* Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1962. $6.00

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Book of Remembrance

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In Memoriam

ANITA STILES BLAKE, ANITA D. SYMMES BLAKE, and MABEL SYMMES

According to the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, the wedding on May 17, 1894, of Anita Day Symmes and Anson Stiles Blake at the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco, the Reverend Horatio Stebbins officiating, was of more than ordinary interest, the relatives of the contracting parties being "prominently known in society, mercantile and literary circles and they are both representative pioneer families."

White marguerites and snowballs were knotted to the portals of the pewstalls along the central aisle of the church, down which the bridal procession passed, Miss Mabel Symmes being her sister's maid of honor.

At the wedding reception in the Symmes' residence on Rincon Hill, precious stones, typical of that affluent period, were much in evidence. "The groom's present," said the *Bulletin*, "was of diamonds and sapphires. Each of the bridesmaids received a pink enameled wreath set with pearls. The ushers as souvenirs had four-leaf clover pins, in the center of which a diamond dewdrop was set."

The affluence of the Frank J. Symmes family was attributable to his father-in-law's thriving electric-fixtures business, *viz.*, Thomas Day & Company (incorporated 1886), of which Mr. Symmes was president.

In the East Bay region, the groom's family had also been financially successful, in this case through real estate operations and street paving—to such an extent that in 1891 Mrs. Ann J. Stiles, Anson Blake's maternal grandmother, organized a corporation, Trustees of Stiles Hall, under whose supervision the hall, dedicated to the religious and social uses of university students without distinction of creed, was built as a memorial to her husband, Anson Gale Stiles (former member of the board of trustees of the College of California).

In 1895, another Stiles-Blake real estate transaction involved 3.34 acres lying in the valley of Strawberry Creek (part of the present California Memorial Stadium). By a deed dated December 6 of that year, the University of California acquired the land from Mrs. Ann J. Stiles for $3,800 as a future reservoir site. Meanwhile, on the western border of Strawberry Creek facing on Piedmont Avenue north of Bancroft Way, Anson, his mother Mrs. Charles T. Blake, and his brother Edwin built handsome residences with connecting gardens and a small stable for Anita's riding-horse Dewey. On March 20, 1922, this property was deeded to the university, the former owners moving to the Kensington area of Berkeley in Contra Costa County. Finally, by a deed dated December 4, 1957, Anson and Anita gave their part of the Kensington property, amounting to ten and one-half acres, to the university, the Edwin Blake portion having been already purchased by Noel Sullivan for a Carmelite Monastery.

The importance of Anson's and Anita's gift to the university has been described by Professor H. L. Vaughan, chairman of the department of landscape architecture: "Of the physical features essential to teaching and research in

Landscape Architecture—laboratories, libraries, classrooms, plant collections, and well-designed garden space—the last two are the most difficult to obtain and keep. The Blake Garden provides them in incomparable fashion."

As to Anson's personal career: after graduation, he went into the contracting industry in which his father, Charles T. Blake, was engaged, specifically in furnishing materials connected with street work. By 1913 his brothers had joined him in forming Blake Brothers, with a quarry and office in Oakland, California. The company is now known as Blake Brothers Company, Crushed Rock and Rip Rap, Asphaltic Mixes, in Richmond, California, of which his nephew Igor, son of Robert Blake, is officer and director.

The first official connection Anson (University of California, 1891; died August 17, 1959, at the age of eighty-nine) had with the University Y.M.C.A. was on March 27, 1889, when he became a student member. By 1900 he was a member of the advisory board, and, in 1902, the board's chairman. At the groundbreaking ceremony (February 20, 1950) for the new building at Bancroft Way and Dana Street, Mr. Robert Gordon Sproul, then president of the university, complimented him for having, during all that time, met "difficulties and dangers, almost anonymously with courage and with cash."

Praise came from another direction in 1953, namely, in a concurrent resolution of the legislature designating him "The Grand Old Man of Stiles Hall."

On September 29, 1958, a culminating event occurred when, at the inauguration of President Clark Kerr, his Alma Mater granted him an LL.D. degree, paying tribute to his having been "revered by generations of student leaders for your inspiring faith and confidence in them." In addition to such expressions of admiration were those from booklovers and from fellow-members of the California Historical Society and the Society of California Pioneers, in both of which he had held high office.

Anita (University of California, A.B., 1894; died April 25, 1962, at the age of ninety), as well as her sister Mabel, were members of the Kappa Alpha Theta Fraternity. Scholastically, Anita received what she called a most happy surprise when, subsequent to its establishment at the University of California in 1898, the Phi Beta Kappa honor society chose her as one of the few earlier graduates admitted to its membership.

A year after her marriage, Anita was one of the seven "organizers" of the Fortnightly Club of San Francisco. Twenty years was the minimum age limit and the membership was limited to sixty in addition to honorary members. The "objects" of the Fortnightly Club were "mutual sympathy and counsel in all further development," and were to be carried out "under the direction of sections." Included were such studies as French, English, history of religions, music, and art. One program, two years after the founding of the club, was to be devoted to a debate: "Resolved that study and society are compatible." Apparently the affirmative won, because the club continued its existence for some decades, Anita and her co-organizers bearing witness to a thoroughly flourishing "compatibility."

During the early years of the Fortnightly Club's existence, a sincere interest in Oriental art arose, induced by the creation, in 1895, of a department of Oriental languages and literature at the University of California. Money to finance such a department had been supplied in the will of the Hon. Edward Tompkins *(d.* 1872) who was one of the university's first regents; but the complexity of the will's provisions had delayed settlement, and it was not until 1895 that the first professorship in Oriental languages and literature was established. Along with several wives of faculty members, Anita was attracted by the beauty of Chinese porcelains, paintings, and furniture—an attraction which was stimulated by the possibility of obtaining them in the shops of San Francisco. Thus it was that her collection attracted the attention of connoisseurs, and her wisdom in leaving it in her will to the East Asiatic Library at the university (Dr. Elizabeth Huff, librarian) was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm.

Miss Mabel Symmes (University of California, 1896; died, Berkeley, February 1, 1962, at the age of eighty-seven) joined her sister in her love of plants, but she directed her energies toward what might be called their *becomingness* to a given piece of land under given climatic and exposure conditions. In this demanding profession of landscape architecture she built a name for herself in the San Francisco Bay area. Her work in Kensington was made easier by the beauty of the Blake residence, designed by John B. Faville of the San Francisco architectural firm of Bliss & Faville.

In recent years, Mabel had been working over the papers left by Miss Katherine Davies Jones (1860-1943), university botanist and ecologist, whose printed reports on ninety different varieties of climbing plants were published in the *National Horticultural Magazine,* 1936, 1937, and 1938. Miss Symmes' own account of Miss Jones' work had appeared in *Madroño,* VIII (April, 1946); but much remained to be done on the subject, and the notes she took during the process she donated in her will to the Strybing Arboretum in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

After the Blake-Symmes move to Kensington, Anita and Mabel began their almost forty years of plant-propagation and landscaping. The list of Anita's contributions to horticulture contains such far-flung species as *Ilex paraguariensis, Pistacia Chinensis, Acacia pubescens* or "Hairy Wattle" from Australia, *Osmanthus illicifolius,* and many others. For these she received "awards" from the California Horticultural Society which published her descriptive text in each case in their *Journal.* To quote a professional authority, Mrs. Mai K. Arbegast, assistant professor of landscape architecture at the university:

> From her early years, Mrs. Blake's interest in plants led her not only to support horticultural societies and botanic gardens financially but also to present to them the unusual specimens she herself had grown. The result has been that rare plants from her collection are now to be found in botanic gardens and herbaria all over the world. I learned much from her and am deeply grateful for having known her as a person.

Though a close second to Anita in her pursuit of plant lore, Mabel made room in her busy days for financial matters, and, as a stockholder in a bay area bank, attended annual meetings regularly. She also attended reunions of her college class and joined with them in processions at various university celebrations.

It is pleasant to record a tribute that was paid to Anita and Mabel by their neighbor, the Reverend Mother of the Carmelite Monastery in Kensington. To show her appreciation of the broad Christian principles manifested in their daily lives, she sought for them a Papal Blessing. According to custom this is only bestowed in Rome, but exception was made in their cases because of their age and delicate health. The Blessing was doubly welcome, Anita said in her letter to the Reverend Mother, because it arrived on her first wedding-anniversary subsequent to her husband's death.

Gladys C. Wickson

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By Maynard Geiger, o.f.m.

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Letters Between Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson in 1917
By A. Lincoln

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SEPTEMBER 1963

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Fray Junípero Serra

Organizer and Administrator of the Upper California Missions, 1769-1784

By MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

Fray Junípero Serra, California's mission founder, may be profitably studied under various aspects of his famous career. In this two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth, I have chosen to consider him in the light of organizer and administrator of the Upper California missions during the last fifteen years of his life. This is an aspect that should appeal to every type of reader and student. It should serve to show, first of all, Serra's innate talent in this field of endeavor and his fruitful contribution to California in the exercise of this talent. In the course of his long life, Serra showed eminence in three fields: the scholastic, the apostolic, and the administrative. He preferred the active apostolate on the frontier and assumed the organizational and administrative aspects of missionary life only as a duty by reason of his office as president. On several occasions he even complained that he was becoming more of an administrator than a missionary by force of circumstances.

Before considering the details of his administration, it will be necessary to review the framework of his operations—a framework not of

---

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., a doctoral graduate from the Catholic University of America and a fellow of the California Historical Society, began his studies of Franciscan history in the area of Spanish Florida. In 1948, in recognition of his three monographs on the Franciscans in Florida, he was awarded the Cervantes Medal by the Hispanic Institute of Florida. Receiving a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1952, Father Geiger directed his research and writing to the study of Fray Junípero Serra and the early Franciscan missionaries in California. After translating and editing *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra,* he authored the *Life and Times of Junípero Serra,* and has consequently received the Order of Isabel from the Spanish government, the John Gilmary Shea Award of the Catholic Historical Association, and Henry R. Wagner Award of the California Historical Society.

his making which placed many necessary limitations on what he could have accomplished had he enjoyed greater freedom of action. Serra was subject to authorities both in Church and State, and this was at three distinct levels: local, viceregal, and royal.[1] As president, he was merely a field commander, placed at a disadvantageous distance from headquarters, with poor and slow communications. He was subject to the religious, civil, military, and economic viewpoints of those in authority over him. All of these viewpoints converged on the Indian question, the successful resolution of which would confirm California as an integral part of the Spanish empire and win for Christianity this northern Pacific shore. To Serra fell the responsibility of civilizing and Christianizing the Indian with the paternalistic aid of the State. In the alembic of his own genius he had to mold these forces together if success was to be guaranteed. This called for exceptional ability. In the very nature of the case organizational and administrative talents were required of him.

Serra was no innovator; he was a traditionalist. He wanted the mission system to emerge in California in its tried and finest form as it had been worked out by the colleges of Querétaro, Zacatecas, and San Fernando in Texas and in the Sierra Gorda.[2] When this goal was threatened, he cited precedent. When success could not be immediately achieved, he resigned himself to God's will. But this religious phrase never meant for Serra a step in the direction of Nirvana. At the proper time and place he would again urge action on previous proposals, for he considered the achievement of his ideal to be also the fulfillment of God's will. And not expecting miracles, he knew that it was incumbent upon him, even in relation with his own religious superiors, to fight aggressively for the cause which was the ideal of his life. He proposed, he argued, he cajoled, and he appealed like St. Paul, when it was necessary, to Caesar. When he thought that he was being shortchanged either in consideration or in aid, he did not hesitate to point out that besides being a churchman and missionary, he was as much a government official as any civilian officer[3] and as much a soldier as any man bearing arms[4]—all were in this conquest together. He did not intend to play a subservient part or an ineffectual role. Considering the form of government under which he had to operate, he could adopt no other viewpoint if he wished to achieve full success. He could influence legislation only indirectly, for he had neither an official vote nor veto. Only as an aggressive member of the loyal opposition could he hope to achieve the fullness of the ideals he had set out to accomplish. In the course of his career his voice would be heard in the viceregal palace of Mexico, and his written pleas would reach the royal palace in Madrid.

Serra exercised his talents and accomplished his life's greatest work at an age when most men would consider their public careers as coming to an end. Between the age of fifty-six and seventy, precisely his California life-span, one would expect to see in him a diminishing dynamism and a slackening buoyancy. In Serra, however, this was not the case. Hampered by physical handicaps, ulcerated legs and feet, and an annoying asthma, he merely looked upon these as temporary restraints upon a continuous apostolate.[5] Such handicaps were more than compensated for by spiritual gifts such as a rosy optimism, a buoyant eagerness, and an adamantine will. These were the wheels that drove the president's mill in California. All three were suffused with a zeal that remained constant throughout his career.

Serra had a combination of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza in his make-up. Idealism and realism lived as twins in his soul. He always insisted on the best thing obtainable but was realistic enough to be satisfied with second-best attainment if nothing else could be done. He also had the remarkable combination of a man of vision and the practical insight of the man of action. The dreamer and the worker intermingled in him. His apostolic dream reached far to the north, to Alaska, though he knew that he could not go beyond San Francisco.[6] He was building only the beginnings of California, still he could look into the future and see a completely formed Franciscan Province of California which actually exists today.[7] Though a dreamer, he had an unlimited penchant for detail; every last mission had to have its proper painting, every missionary serving under him was to be a picked and proven man, every *fanega* of grain owing to an Indian was to be given to the aborigine, every item coming from Mexico was to arrive in good condition, every soldier serving the missions was to do his full duty, and every effort made by his college that fell short of fullness was an opportunity lost. Militant, aggressive, dynamic, visionary, detailed in administration, Serra at all times was in his forward thrust, but he was patient, forgiving, forbearing, and hopeful when his full ideals could not be realized. All of these traits are fully revealed in his abundant writings. It is from these principally that our study has been made. From them we may learn how he organized and administered the missions he founded.

As soon as José de Gálvez arrived in Lower California and announced to Serra his determination to set in motion the conquest of Upper California, the president eagerly offered to join him. Serra visited missions north and south of Loreto, inviting missionaries to accompany him as volunteers. A little later Gálvez asked Serra to go down to Santa Ana and there the two men worked out the details of the northern conquest, both in its temporal and spiritual aspects.[8] Serra joined the fourth expedition under Gaspar de Portolá and arrived at San Diego on July 1, 1769. The president was determined to carry out Gálvez' plan to the full: three missions at the beginning—San Diego, Monterey, and a third along the Santa Barbara Channel.[9] Serra founded San Diego on July 16, 1769, and San Carlos at Monterey on June 3, 1770. For the third mission, San Buenaventura, he had to wait thirteen years due to military hesitancy and government interest in other areas! But never during a single year did Serra allow the religious or civil authorities to forget that San Buenaventura had been officially decreed and that it must be founded. He used every argument that he could think of. All of them were valid: it was the best area for evangelization because of the number and quality of the natives, it was important for communications, and it was necessary for removing the dangers threatening the peace of the territory due to the growing insolence of the Indians. Concerning Serra's preoccupation with missions for the Santa Barbara Channel, a thesis of considerable size could be written.[10]

Between his arrival in California and his temporary return to Mexico in 1772-73, Serra had clear ideas concerning the organization and administration of the nascent mission "ladder" as he called what we refer to as a "chain." First of all, he was as careful as a housewife at a supermarket in the selection of personnel as of material. When he mentioned to his guardian at San Fernando College that if he sent him a hundred missionaries he could use all of them, eyebrows were raised. But he added quickly, "If they are anxious not to be put to any annoyance or discomfort, even one of them would be one too many."[11] Serra wanted quantity if he could get it, but above all he desired quality.

It was understood from the beginning, of course, that there would be two missionaries stationed at each mission not only because of the work that had to be done, materially and spiritually, but also for the sake of companionship, for moral encouragement and religious benefits.[12] For the time being, Serra was willing to sacrifice the company of Fray Juan Crespí at Monterey to allow him to go to found San Buenaventura, but only so that mission progress would not be hindered.[13] It never became necessary for Crespí to go. When in a later period of his California career Serra was confronted by Felipe de Neve's proposal that a mission was to be manned by only one missionary, he refused to abide with the governor's decision and won his case.

With ten new missionaries to dispose of in mid-1771, Serra assigned eight of them to four proposed missions and used the other two as replacements. The projected missions were San Antonio, San Buenaventurn, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo.[14] Thus would the first gap between San Diego and Monterey be filled. All were founded by September 1, 1772, except San Buenaventura whose establishment was prevented by Indian troubles at San Gabriel.[15] Meanwhile, the mission of San Carlos was moved from Monterey to Carmel, on August 24, 1771,[16] and the site of the future San Buenaventura chosen.[17] This was good progress in three years. "When I see these missions well established," he wrote to the viceroy, "I will apply to Your Excellency for others to be added."[18] To his superior at San Fernando, he wrote: "It is of vital interest that, as soon as possible, almost as many more should be founded, since from here [Monterey] to San Francisco, at least two more [missions] are needed."[19] Including five missions to be built "south of the border" between San Diego and Velicatá, in Fray Francisco Palóu's jurisdiction but subject to the college, Serra stated:

> Such a plan would mean—over and above the great increase in Christianity, and an almost uninterrupted chain of missions covering an immense stretch of country, and that is our principal aim—that the religious who have to come would be saved the hardship of the ocean trip; the journey would be by land, and they would sleep at least every third day in a mission belonging to the College. This would make the whole trip easy, even if they had to go as far as San Francisco. There would only be the short sea crossing from San Blas to Loreto.[20]

Thus Serra wished to build up a veritable Camino Real from Loreto to San Francisco—a distance of 473 leagues or over a thousand miles[21]

—along which would be centers of Christianity as well as convenient stopping places for friars en route. A dream of an empire builder, indeed! But because the idea was also so practical, it became a reality in even greater detail than Serra had planned.[22]

Moreover, he suggested that because of the distance between Mexico City and the California missions, a small hospice should be founded either at Guadalajara or at Tepic with two or three friars in residence who could look after the proper shipping of merchandise to the missions and who would obtain in the area certain articles rather than in Mexico and thus save transportation costs from the capital to the coastal port. Then he suggested a house of hospitality to be located either at Loreto, San Diego, or Monterey in which six or more missionaries would be housed "on call" for emergency cases, who could reach the missions quickly instead of the president's need of waiting a year or more to make an appeal for additional personnel, of waiting for transportation, and of managing matters poorly in the meantime.[23] Both of these suggestions were shelved.

Goods destined for California and brought by ship should be delivered at two ports, San Diego and Monterey; San Gabriel and San Buenaventura to call at San Diego for their goods, the northern missions to call for theirs at Monterey. This would eliminate delays and long hauls overland especially if there were insufficient soldiers and muleteers at hand to accompany the pack trains.[24]

Serra agreed with his superiors that the headquarters of the missions should be at Carmel, close to the capital where the governor lived—for the better expediting of business—but that then the mission there should have three friars instead of two, besides the president. One of these should be presidio chaplain, the other to be on hand for emergency assignment. The president should be free "to attend to the duties of his office," that is, sheer administration. However, in case that the government provided a military chaplain from among the secular clergy, then only two friars in addition to the president would be required for Carmel. In any case, if a friar were chaplain, he was to live at the mission and not at the presidio, but merely attend it.[25]

We now come to a crucial moment in Serra's career in mission development. Serra was in San Diego in the fall of 1772 with Don Pedro

Fages. There had been disputes, misunderstandings, and cross purposes between the military and the missionaries. Serra desired a clarification of details. Despite what had been done, he considered it too little. After consulting his fellow missionaries, Serra decided that only a personal visit to Mexico to see the new viceroy, Frey Don Antonio María Bucareli, might ameliorate conditions. Letters had not solved any problem but had only confused the issues.[26]

Serra presented himself at San Fernando College and there he was commissioned by his superior, Fray Rafael Verger, to approach the viceregal court with his requests. This resulted in his now famous *Representación* of thirty-two points which Serra presented to Bucareli on March 13, 1773.[27] Therein he clearly revealed what his ideas were for the proper functioning of the mission territory under the dual enterprise of Church and State.

Serra urged the removal of Fages from the governorship for his own satisfaction and for that of the missionaries and of many of the soldiers. He suggested José Francisco Ortega as his successor. He made important recommendations regarding the military. For example: soldiers' pay should be increased, and they should have their own storehouse at Monterey with the merchandise they needed. Married soldiers in California who had been away from their families for a length of time should be allowed to visit them. More of the new soldiers coming to California should be married. A bounty should be given to soldiers in California who would marry there, an amnesty should be granted to deserters, and immoral soldiers should be removed from their posts at the missions at the request of the missionary in charge. Serra also specified the number of soldiers needed as a guard and stated that at each mission one of them should act as majordomo or economic overseer under the missionary.

With regard to the economic situation, the new frigate recently built at San Blas should be sent to California as soon as possible because of the scarcity of provisions. Serra requested that he should receive an annual salary just like the other missionaries. A new shipmaster and pilots were to be provided for the *San Carlos.* Mission goods long delayed were to be sent north as soon as practicable. Produce given as alms to the missions, in the San Blas area, was to be sent to the missions without special inspection. A list of prices was to be drawn up; mission and presidio goods were to be delivered directly to the respective agents for whom they were destined, the president and governor, and distinct invoices were to be made out. Weights and measures were to be regulated and standard weights were to be manufactured and sent to California. More mules were needed for the missions. The livestock destined for missions San Francisco and Santa Clara which were in the hands of the governor were to be delivered over to the president. Laborers from Mexico were to be assigned to the missions, and two or three Christian Indian families from Mexico were to be placed at each mission. A doctor, carpenters, and blacksmiths were needed at the missions. Trade tools and iron were required. The commissary at San Blas was to be made responsible for the better care and packing of merchandise sent to the missions. Two bells for each mission were to be manufactured in Mexico. Vestments and other church goods were needed. The missionaries were to enjoy postal franking privilege, their mail was not to be intercepted by civil officials, and proper notification was to be given to the missionaries when the mail would leave.

With regard to the relations between the missionaries and the Indians, the former were to have exclusive charge of the training, governance, punishment, and education of the natives, Christian and catechumens. Serra was in favor of land expeditions from Sonora and New Mexico to open up new routes to California and encouraged Bucareli in his plans to reconnoiter the coastlands of upper North America.[28] Serra asked the viceroy for a copy of the government's final decisions on his requests "for my future guidance," and requested that a copy be sent to the new governor for *his* guidance.

Most of Serra's recommendations were granted, only six remaining unresolved by the time of his departure for California. A few of these even were put into execution afterwards. Serra's request for a hundred soldiers for the missions founded and to be founded was considered somewhat excessive. He was asked to present a detailed report on the missions and to state the basis of his need for a hundred soldiers. This document he finished on May 21, 1773.[29] Serra declared that he was not "soldier-hungry," but considered the number necessary in view of the fact that not all the soldiers in the territory were effectives, by reason of illness, desertions, etc. For the missions already established Serra declared that eighty would be sufficient, but in consideration of missions still to be established a hundred were desirable, especially if the channel missions were to be founded, a thing he greatly desired.

When Serra heard that there was danger of closing the port of San Blas (opened only in 1768 as the embarcation point for California) and that the trend of opinion in Mexico favored overland supply for the missions, Serra became truly eloquent in opposing the change. He conclusively showed that such a change would be not only impractical but absolutely chimerical. The whole scheme was bereft of realism.[30] His arguments were so persuasive that they were sent through the viceroy's hands on to Madrid where, as a result, San Blas was not only retained as a port but was strengthened and improved, As late as 1808, Francisco Xavier Borbón, a government official reporting on the base, declared that San Blas had been kept in existence only through the zeal of Padre Serra.

Serra returned to California early in 1774 with renewed hope that his mission plans would be put into effect more smoothly, now that he had more abundant economic aid, fuller legal and moral backing, and a friend at court who was none other than the viceroy. His subsequent letters are eminently optimistic. However, within a year he discovered that the new governor, Don Fernando Javier Rivera y Moncada, and he were of entirely different temperaments and of diverse viewpoints with regard to the establishment of new missions. Serra believed in extending his lines as far as possible, spreading them even thinly, if necessary. Rivera y Moncada believed in holding the line, and was cautious and calculating. Serra was willing to take a chance whereas Rivera wanted to be absolutely sure.

Serra unfolded the new impasse to the viceroy when he addressed him on June 21, 1774: "If only I could put into the new Captain's head the plans I have for the building of new missions, and for keeping busy so many extra religious."[31] He had on hand enough missionaries to start four new missions. "And what means have I of knowing when I will have the satisfaction of seeing them founded? . . . Why then should I not be anxious for the number of our mission foundations to be multiplied, when the field is so large and uncultivated?"[32] Concerning the five missions already established, he declared how delighted he was "to see how well organized they were."[33] To Fray Francisco Pangua, now the superior at San Fernando, he wrote on July 18, 1774, that he "could not help but marvel at the progress they had made both spiritually and materially."[34] With the supplies already sent to California and assured of continued support, he declared: "I hope it will help to quiet the minds of those who said that to found these missions was flying in the face of Providence, the whole affair being started with insufficient supplies."[35] His own college had been dubious of the outcome of the California enterprise, and even in 1774 it appears that this negative attitude had not been fully dissipated.

> It seems to me that if we, the religious belonging to San Fernando, had shrunk away when the secular officers were bravely forging ahead, it would have reflected little glory on our College. And had they been founded with all the conveniences imaginable, our credit would not stand as high as it does now. Besides if we had waited for such conditions, no mission would ever have been founded. I have never read of enterprises of this description ever succeeding except at the price of sacrifice and peril.[36]

Not counting Mission San Francisco which was projected and whose founding was tied in with the coming of Juan Bautista de Anza, Serra declared that four more missions should be founded between Monterey and San Diego.[37] Two of these had already been named, San Buenaventura and Santa Clara. Serra wished to have these two established soon after his return from Mexico. Though Bucareli had asked Serra not to found any more missions that would require additional guards, until San Francisco was established, he nevertheless told the president that one or the other mission might be established with guards taken from existing missions. To Serra this was an "open door," and he tried to put this alternative into operation.[38] He was willing to give up two guards, each from his missions of San Carlos and San Diego, if Rivera would add just a few more soldiers from the presidio. This, however, was denied him. Thus, wrote Serra, "the Indians might revolt; who can deny that?"[39] The caution of Rivera and the zeal of Serra met in deadlock.

Through the summer of 1774, Serra kept hammering away on the need for more missions. He told Bucareli that four more missions should be built "at proper intervals" about twenty-five leagues apart and that these "would form from San Diego to here [Monterey] stepping stones, so that every third night one might sleep in a village. With that, peace would be assured, and passage through all the country made easy; and a postal service might be established, even though it operated only every two months."[40]

Again he stressed the better type of soldier to be sent to California, preferably married ones, while older ones already in California could remain there and become settlers. Already the few workmen he had obtained from Mexico had had a good influence in affecting the industry of the natives. Soldiers turned settlers, he declared, were necessary for the development of the missions and such should be better cared for by the government in grants and bounties.[41]

When Rivera suggested moving the Monterey Presidio to the Salinas Valley, Serra was not opposed, provided that a mission would be founded nearby, at a distance of about a league, so that the soldiers would not be without spiritual ministrations and the Indians of the vicinity would have the protection of the padres.[42] Nothing came of the plan.

Early in 1775 Serra once more stressed the founding of San Francisco; if this could not be done, then the four missions he had proposed earlier. He considered it to be a fact that there were more soldiers in the presidios than were necessary. "That military men should move forward with caution is well and good; but for the kingdom of God some boldness is more in keeping than all these cautions they are forever impressing upon me."[43] He again called for the service of a hundred soldiers for California and for the need of good families from Sinaloa coming to the area with livestock. At the same time, in writing to Pangua, he stated that the missions to be founded between Monterey and San Diego would consolidate the mission system and that this feature of development should be attended to before expanding elsewhere.[44]

He came up with a new idea in reference to the proposed Colorado River missions. Since Anza was to open up the route as an overland way to the missions, a mission along the river ought to be maintained by missionaries from the College of San Fernando rather than by those of the College of Querétaro. Again, he considered the route a useful line of communications. He feared that unless the area of the Santa Barbara Channel did not soon come into the mission ambient, the whole countryside there might break out into open revolt.[45]

Bucareli apprized Serra that both San Francisco and other missions were soon to be founded and that Rivera had been informed on the matter.[46] Serra approached the commander concerning the very much desired mission at San Buenaventura. A heated argument between the two ensued with the result that San Juan Capistrano was founded instead as a compromise, for its founding would require the presence of fewer soldiers.[47] At least a partial gap was thus filled. On August 22, 1775, he wrote to Pangua, stating that if the necessary soldiers were granted for which he had petitioned, he would also need six additional missionaries to found three more missions. "When I can see them all founded—eleven or twelve of them—it may be a considerable length of time before I shall have to bring up the subject of new foundations again." Again stressing quality in personnel, he asked that the newcomers should be "sincerely religious, exemplary and zealous."[48]

While at San Diego in 1776, Rivera and Serra discussed the feasibility of regular postal service between California and Mexico occasioned by a proposal to that end by the viceroy. Serra opined that such a service was feasible in one respect but not in another. Considering the spacing of missions as they obtained at that time, the president declared that a regular monthly mail could leave San Diego for Mexico whether mail had arrived from Monterey or not. If however his plans for two additional missions along the Santa Barbara Channel were put through, with a mission at San Buenaventura and Purísima, then regular monthly mail service could be effected also between Monterey and San Diego. With the establishment of these two additional missions, the rungs of the mission ladder would be about equally spaced at twenty-five leagues. In that case the mail couriers could sleep every night in a defended Christian village, travelers would be convenienced, and the bonds of peace between Spaniard and native would be strengthened.[49]

With the arrival of Neve as governor in 1777 and the transfer of the capital of both Californias to Monterey, the channel missions became an assured thing. Neve had traveled all the way from Loreto to his new headquarters on horseback and had carefully scanned the channel terrain. On arrival at Monterey he had come to the same conclusion at which Serra had arrived, i.e., that along the channel there should be three missions and a presidio. Serra was delighted over this meeting of minds.[50]

Viceroy Bucareli had informed Teodoro de Croix, the commandant general of the newly formed Internal Provinces of which California was now a part, of Serra's channel plans. Croix and Neve set these plans in motion.[51] Rivera was ordered to gather soldiers and colonists in Mexico. These converged upon Mission San Gabriel in 1781. Neve founded Los Angeles as a civilian pueblo on September 4, 1781. The march for the channel began. Mission San Buenaventura was established on March 31, 1782. Presidio Santa Barbara followed on April 21.[52] Missions Santa Barbara and Purísima, an integral part of Serra's mission plan, were founded shortly after his death in 1786 and 1787 respectively. He had almost seen the completion of his "eleven or twelve" establishments.[53] He had actually founded nine missions.

It is easy to see how the principal elements of conquest—the civil, military, and religious—were inextricably bound together and how the problems in one area of interest interacted on the others. Unless this is kept in mind, one might obtain the erroneous idea that Serra was meddling in civil, military, and economic affairs which in no way pertained to him. That was not the case. All these elements were in the conquest together, the civilian arm having a great deal to say in external ecclesiastical affairs by reason of the patronage, churchmen becoming agents of the State as well as of the Church and the civil arm becoming also an agent of the Church. All the elements of conquest affected mission life, and, insofar as they did, Serra considered himself justified in dealing with those questions, lest the mission cause for whose success he was responsible would suffer or fail to achieve its optimum purpose.

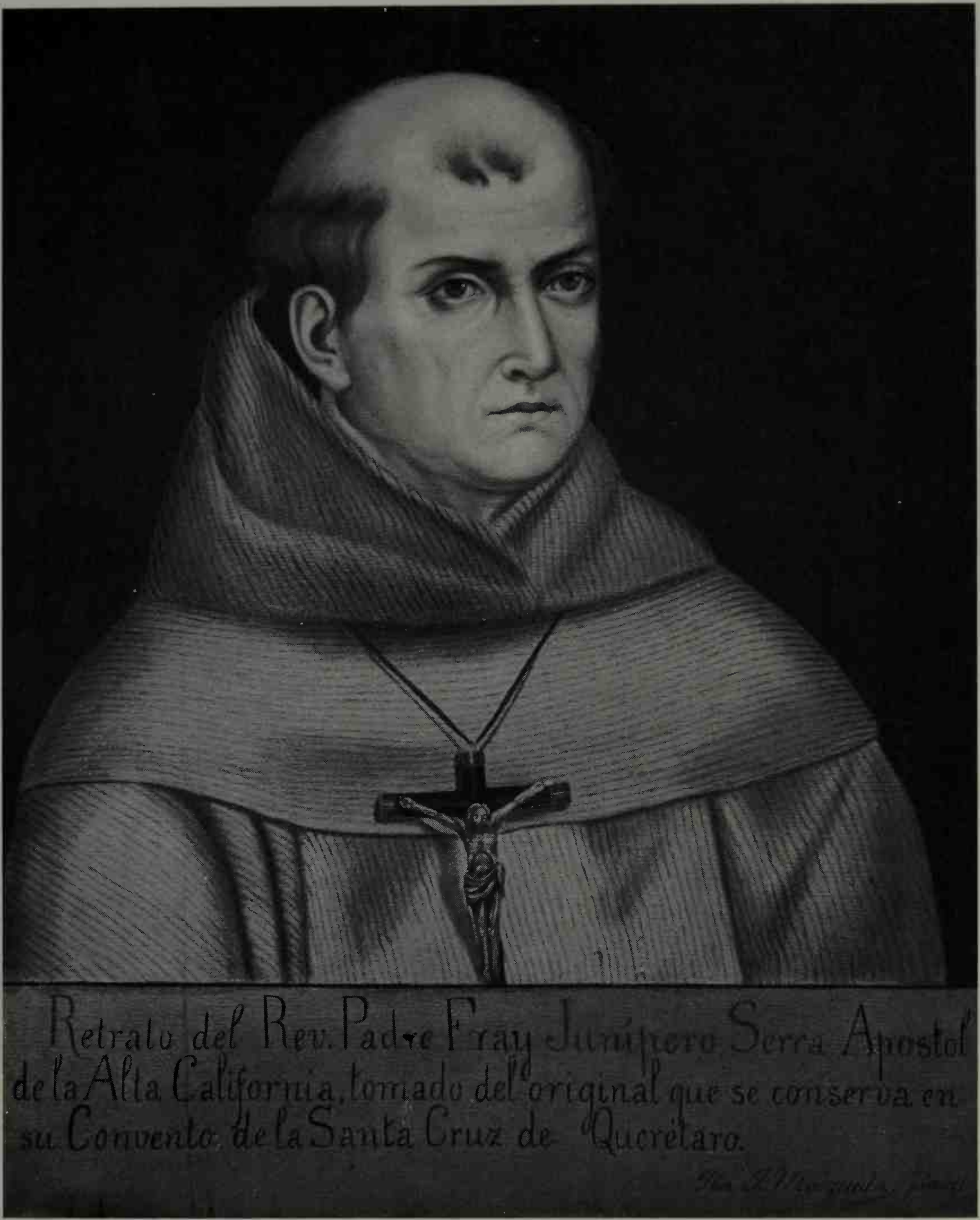
Neve was the first governor who began to establish civilian pueblos in California. He founded San José in 1777 and Los Angeles in 1781. His purpose in establishing these pueblos was that they help provide food for the presidios and that California be gradually settled by civilians. Serra, in general, was opposed to these pueblos at this early period. He preferred that the government wait until more vacant land be made available after a greater number of Indians entered the mission system.

Beyond disagreeing, he could not do much. However, when such pueblos affected the routine of mission life adversely, he protested. This was the case in the dispute between Santa Clara and San José.

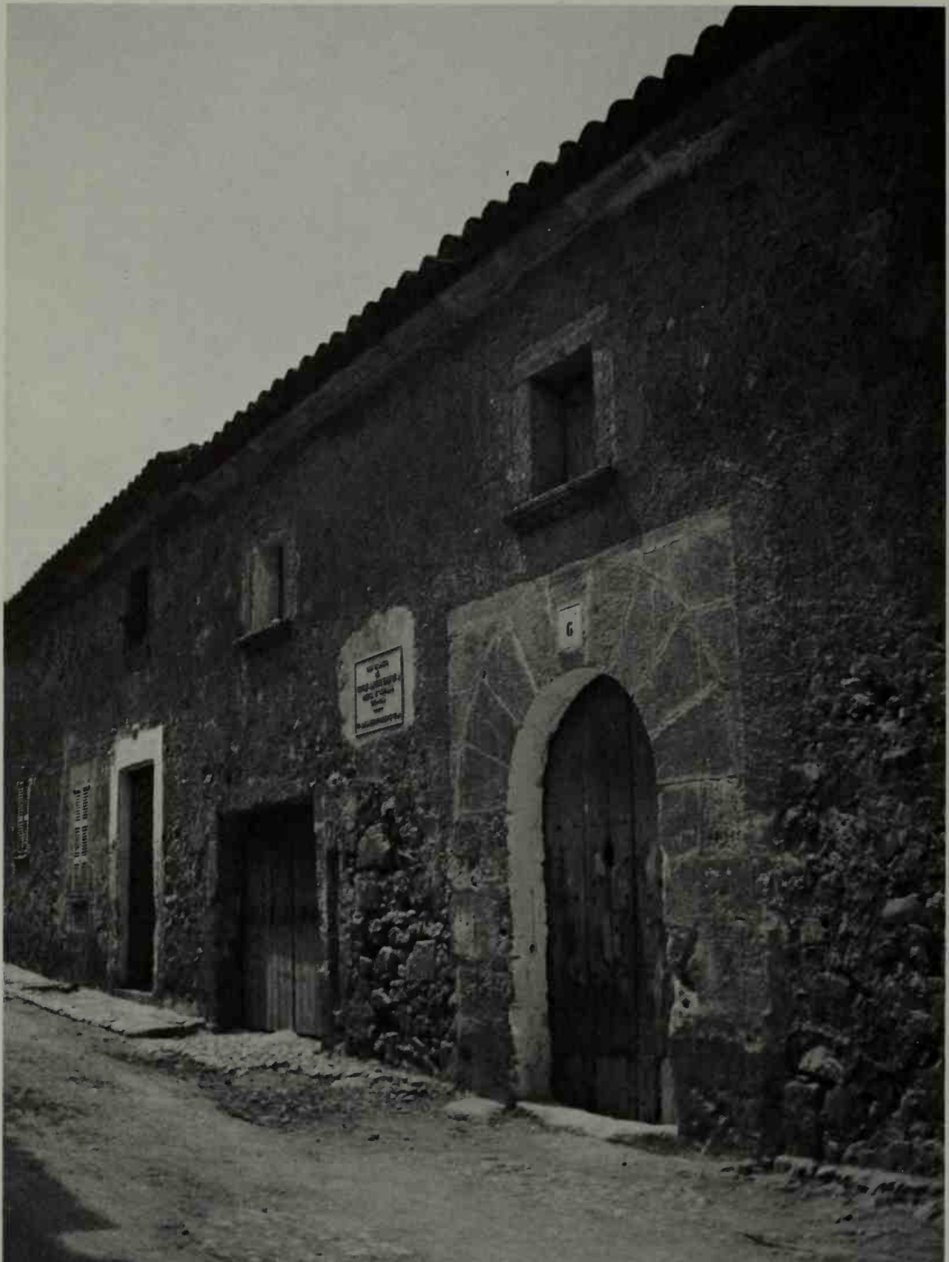
Both the Christian and pagan Indians of the Santa Clara area complained because of the intermingling of cattle belonging to the mission and the pueblo, the destruction of grain fields, and the disappearance of native food absorbed by the cattle of the pueblo. The local missionaries first protested to the governor (Fages, Neve's successor), then took the case to Serra who sent it on to San Fernando. The matter was not settled, however, until 1797, and, even then, it was effected by compromise. Contrary to the Laws of the Indies, San José had been founded too close to the mission settlement, and this much Neve had admitted when Serra first broached the question. Neve was reluctant to transfer the site. When Serra took the case to Neve, he found that "neither reasoning, laws or complaints" had any value.[54]

A formidable question arose between the governor and the president with regard to the election of *alcaldes* and *regidores* at missions which had been in existence for ten years. Neve put this regulation into effect in 1777. Serra and the missionaries at San Diego in particular were in total disagreement with the governor. They quoted the Spanish laws showing that such elections of natives presupposed the Indians living no longer in missions but in native pueblos—in a postmission era—with diocesan or secular priests guiding their spiritual destinies, the Indians free in economic affairs. Moreover, the missionaries of California opined that their Indian charges were not as yet capable of this type of self-government, and where it would be put into effect, many abuses would ensue. Neve, however, insisted on its adoption. Wherever possible, the missionaries, at Serra's suggestion, saw to it that while the offices were conferred in the manner prescribed, they became only relatively effectual. The padres retained ultimate authority in the missions. Even so, some of the Indian *alcaldes* abused their powers. Neve held that such *alcaldes* should be free of punishment. Serra, citing precedent and experience in Mexico, claimed that no one, including *alcaldes*, should be exempt from punishment if laws were violated.[55]

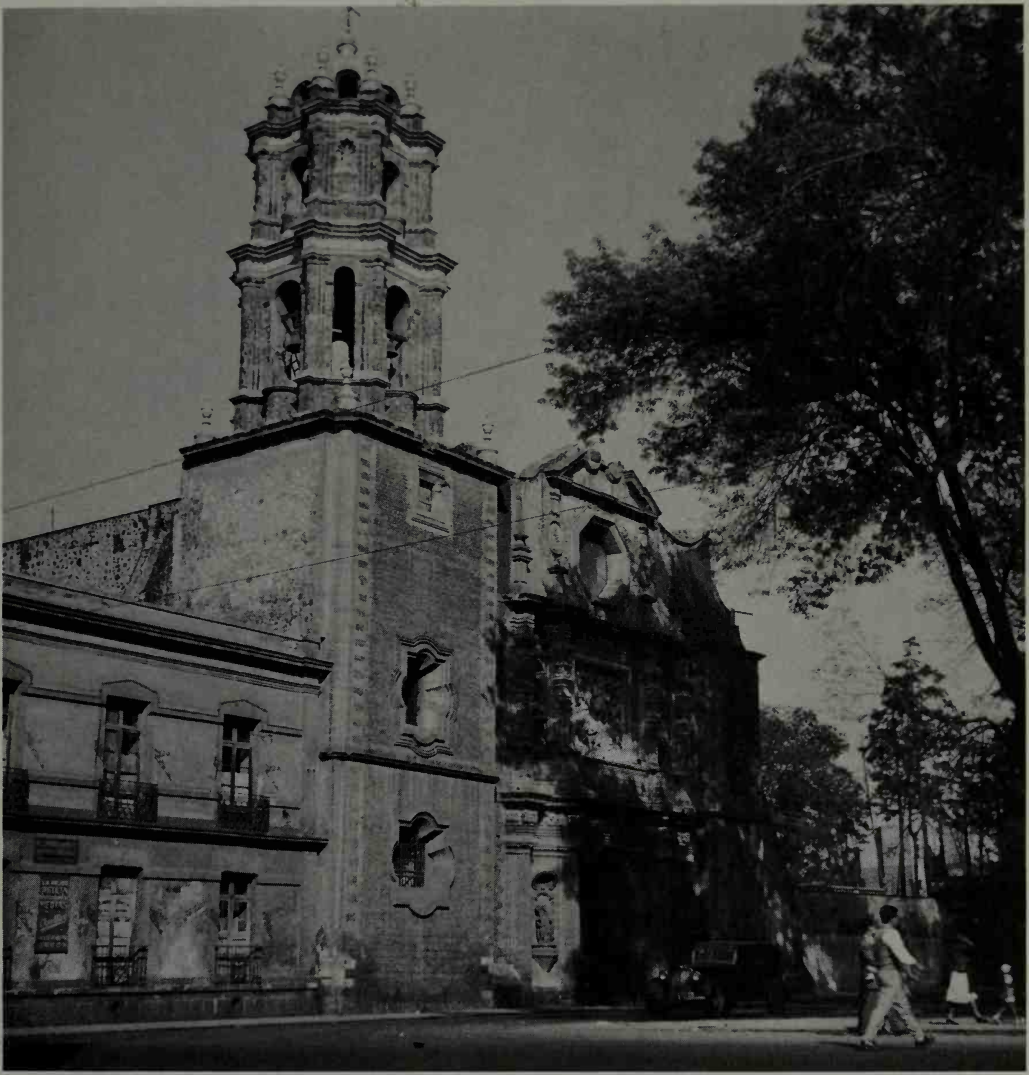
Difficulties arose in administration between Serra and Neve in matters affected by the royal patronage. The most famous of these disputes is


Retrato del Rev. Padre Fray Junípero Serra Apostol
de la Alta California, tomado del original que se conserva en
su Convento de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

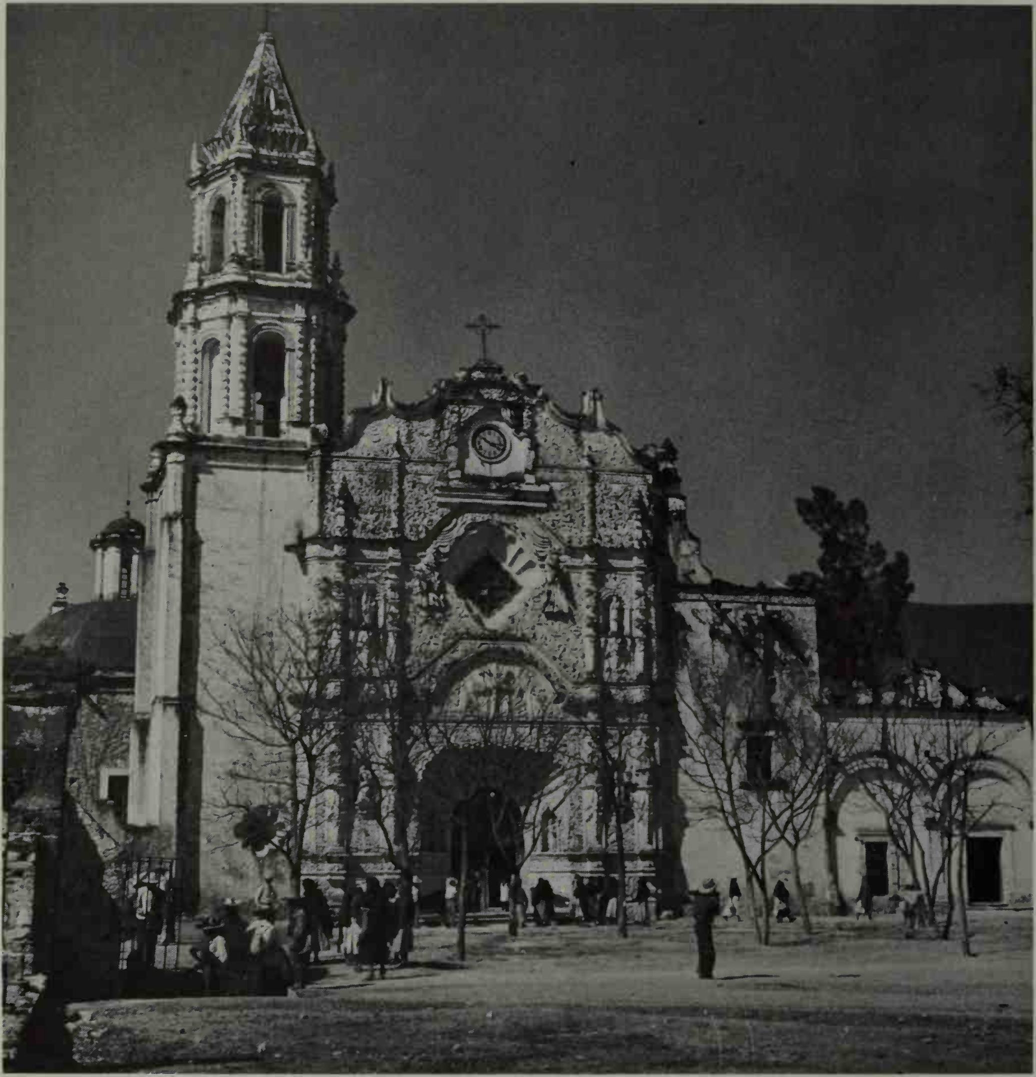
Painting of Fray Junípero Serra by J. Mosqueda, at Mission Santa Barbara.
This portrait is based on an earlier painting at Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Mexico.
Courtesy of the Serra Cause.



The Serra House, Petra, Mallorca, Spain, on the former Calle Barracar now renamed Calle de Junípero Serra. *Courtesy of Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.*



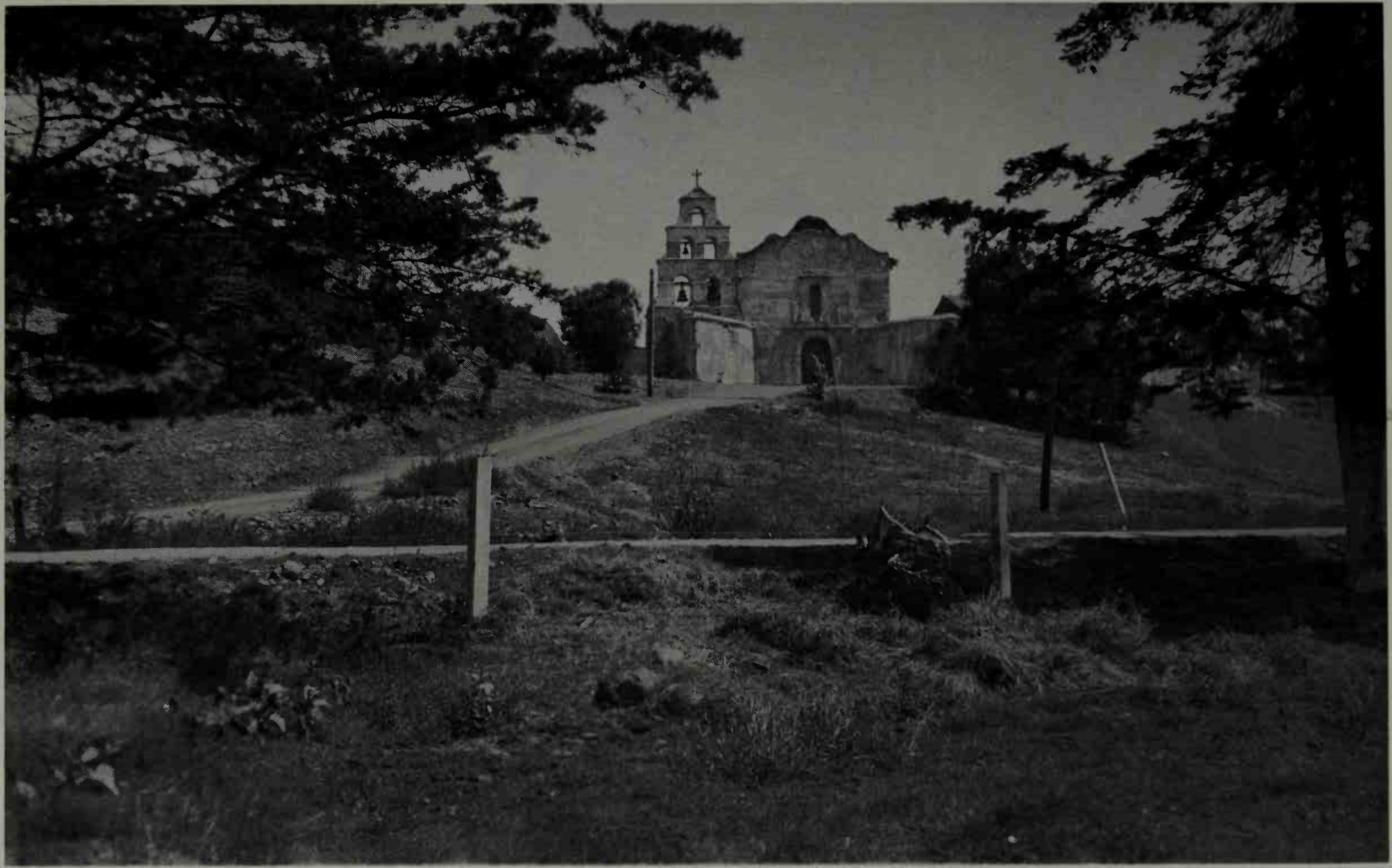
Church of San Fernando, Mexico City, headquarters of the California missionaries.
Serra was a member of the College of San Fernando between 1750 and 1784.
Courtesy of Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.



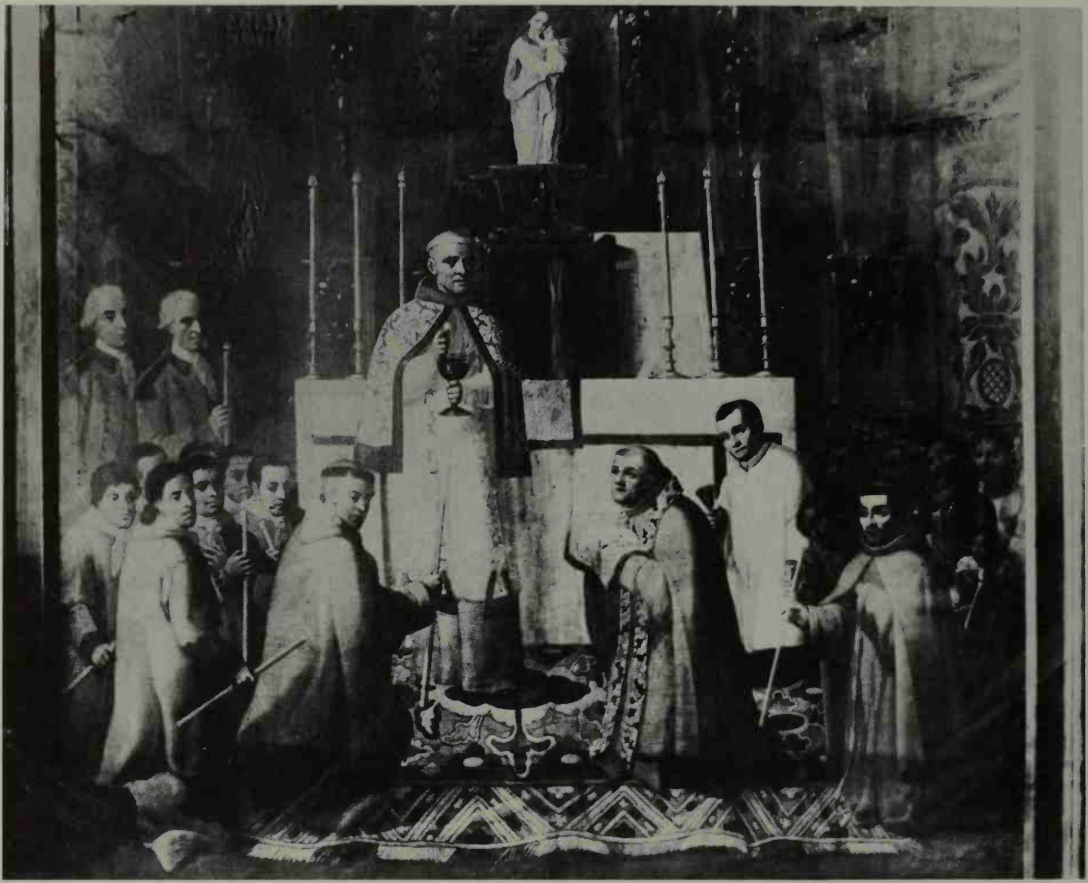
Church of Santiago de Jalpan, Sierra Gorda, Mexico, headquarters of the Sierra Gorda missions conducted by the missionaries of San Fernando College between 1744 and 1770. This church was built by Serra between 1752 and 1758. *Courtesy of Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.*

Serra Monument in the Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., gift of the state of California.
Courtesy of the Serra Cause.

The Cloister of the Convento de San Francisco, Palma, Mallorca, the home of Serra between 1731 and 1749.
Courtesy of Jerónimo Juan Tous, Palma de Mallorca.



Mission San Diego, California, the first of California's twenty-one missions.
Courtesy of H. P. Webb.



Mariano Guerrero's painting of Serra receiving the Viaticum at Mission San Carlos, California, done in Mexico City in 1785. It is now in the Museo de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec, Mexico City.
Courtesy of Santa Barbara Mission Archive.

the confirmation controversy which has been fully treated in this author's, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra.*[56] Neve, as vice-patron under king and viceroy, had little opportunity of exercising his function in mission territory which was not under a bishop.

He tried to interfere in the appointment of missionaries, the exercise of which power Serra denied him. The president explained that civilian patronage in the matter of appointments was limited to parishes, the mining town of Santa Ana in Lower California, which was out of Serra's jurisdiction but within Neve's, being the only place in the territory where the exercise of patronage was applicable. The royal patronage, contended Serra, was sufficiently taken care of when the guardian of San Fernando College presented to the viceroy the names of the missionaries leaving for California without the governor's permission. Serra proved that they left with sufficient permission of their religious superiors since the movement of a missionary from one place to another *within the Indies* according to the Laws of the Indies was beyond civilian control.[57]

In the matter of serving presidios, Serra and his missionaries considered the spiritual service they gave as one not of justice or obligation but one that was given out of charity and gratuitously, simply because the government failed to provide proper priests for the soldiers and civilians. However, Fages and some of his subalterns began to express the view that the missionaries were bound in justice to serve the presidios, and cited prescription. But when the civil arm gave niggardly aid in the fulfillment of this service, both Serra at Monterey and Palóu at San Francisco discontinued their ministrations.[58]

The College of San Fernando had laid down a strict law that neither the president nor the missionaries were to communicate on mission matters with any other authorities than the college, which in turn would deal with the proper civilian authorities on questions between the two arms of conquest. This law was laid down to avoid confusion. Though in the beginning Serra had written a few letters to Gálvez and Croix, they contained nothing that they would not have learned from the military. At other times, particularly to Bucareli, Serra answered letters where he felt the queries deserved an answer and this out of sheer courtesy and because the officials were sincerely interested in the mission enterprise. However, when the college law was once again insisted on, Serra promised not only not to write to the civilian officers but even offered not to read their letters should this be the wish of his superiors. San Fernando agreed that Serra could read letters sent to him and could answer them provided he sent back to San Fernando copies of the letters he wrote in reply. When Neve began to demand annual reports on the missions, certainly a reasonable request, Serra declined to do so until the matter was cleared by the college authorities. The matter was resolved in favor of the governor.[59]

In the very nature of the case, frequent questions arose between president and the governors on matters relating to the Indians. The missionaries had complete charge of Christianized and catechumen Indians, except in criminal matters. San Diego always remained a critical area in the early mission period and called for special attention. Serra had resolved even before he came to California that if the Indians ever revolted and slew a missionary, he would ask the authorities not to give the death sentence but only sufficient punishment to make them realize the enormity of their crime, and then give them a chance to repent and reform. Thus he acted when those of San Diego rose in revolt in 1775, murdered Father Luis Jayme, and burned the mission. Bucareli listened to his plea and gave orders accordingly.

When troubles continued at San Diego after the revolt, Serra felt justified in asking Neve to increase the guard there. He opposed Neve using Christian Indians to work at the presidio and tried to bring those workshifts to an end. In the matter of runaway Indians, soldiers of the guard had been used to bring back the fugitives. Neve ordered this practice discontinued and wanted either the missionaries themselves or other trusted Indians to go in pursuit. Restrictions were put on soldier guards accompanying missionaries to outlying districts. Since the beginning of California's occupation, the military commanders had determined the number of soldiers who would accompany a missionary in the ministration of their spiritual duties, as well as the conditions of such excursions. Also when missionaries went from mission to mission, they always went accompanied by the military. This practice continued.[60]

Serra had no direct power to initiate legislation in the civil realm. He had no vote. Popular government was not in vogue under Charles

III. The only way he or the college could affect legislation was by personal appeal, either to the authorities at the level of government with which they dealt or appeal to higher authority. This was allowed and was frequently resorted to. Otherwise, only a tyrannical overlordship and a subservient "obedience" would have resulted, and much good that could have been accomplished would have been stillborn. In the Spanish milieu often the victor was he who shouted longest and loudest, as was the case with Bartolomé de las Casas in an earlier day.

Serra was personally responsible for the effective Christianization and civilization of the Indians of coastal California. He had appealed to the college frequently urging more strenuous action on a number of questions. He took direct action in 1773 by appealing to the viceroy in his *Representación.* On the San Blas port retention, his voice even reached the ears of the king. In most cases his voice became an effective one. In 1779 Neve, at Monterey, was composing his new *Reglamento* which to all intents and purposes would become the new "constitution" for the territory. Not once did the governor consult Serra on mission matters of which the president was the responsible administrator. Into this *Reglamento* Neve put his own ideas on how missions were to be administered. One article decreed that in the future there was to be but one missionary at each mission, except where a presidio was nearby and then, in that case, the second religious was to be the presidio chaplain. The missionaries, moreover, were to be in charge of spiritualities only. Missions having two missionaries could retain them but had to be satisfied with one when the other died or returned to the college.[61] These changes were fought by Serra and the college by a sit-down strike at San Fernando and by an appeal to the king. They won their case. Moreover, prior regal legislation had already decreed that missionaries must not serve at a mission alone.

Serra's ideas on the mutual relations between the president and the governor were clearly and forcefully put forth in a letter to Neve:

> I have had an idea in my head which I would like to pass on to Your Lordship, not as being anything I have any right to do but simply as a suggestion for you to consider. This is it. Whenever Your Lordship is pondering over decisions, or about to issue orders which concern these missions and their religious, it would be a very appropriate thing if I, as their President, should be informed of them beforehand. In this way, many difficulties would be obviated—perhaps even all

> of them. This is the method which the Most Illustrious Lord Gálvez invariably followed throughout all his stay in [Lower] California—that is, not only when we were together, but likewise when he was staying in the South and I was at Loreto. And, without any doubt, this is the reason why our holy College laid down the rule that the place of residence of the President should be in the capital. Here you have my answer. But in any case Your Lordship has the disposal of what should be done in the field of action. And so I will not interfere with that. My aim has ever been, is, and with the help of God, ever will be, to spare Your Lordship the least trouble.[62]

This does not sound like a man who was power-hungry but like one who was desirous of experiencing smooth sailing as a member of an interlocking directorate, and of assuring a successful and peaceful fruition of his administration. All that Serra was asking for to achieve this end was a *consultive* vote in pending matters of legislation in a field of action of which he was the responsible administrator. Lower than that in government participation one can hardly go except under a complete dictatorship.

The California missions were built and maintained, the missionaries provided for, and the Indians in the beginning economically sustained by the Pious Fund, by special grants given by Bucareli, by the gifts and alms of individuals, and by offerings obtained for the application of Masses. The monies involved were handled by a syndic or treasurer of the friars at the college and in conjunction with the viceregal court in the matter of the Pious Fund. Early in his career in California Serra tried hard to obtain from his superiors at the college the appointment of a friar to this office, believing that better watchfulness and more economic gain would thereby result to the missions. He was not granted this favor in his lifetime though the idea was later put into practice by the appointment of a friar procurator.[63]

The individual missionaries in California made known their local and personal needs to the president, and these together with his own recommendations were passed on to the guardian of the college. This was done to prevent confusion and overlapping. Thus Serra was the channel through whom the mission needs became known. In consequence he was involved in every last detail of mission affairs. Through the annual report, by means of the requisition lists, and in his many letters, we therefore find abundant details of his administration which were his concern. To list or to consider all of these one would have to rewrite a significant portion of the president's life all over again. A few telling examples will suffice.

Already before leaving Lower California, his care for and interest in detail was made manifest: "I drew up a memorandum putting down all the matters, that, in my mind, had to be laid before the said gentleman [Gálvez] so that everything might be in good order. I was informed before leaving Christian parts that all my suggestions were approved of."[64] Once in the mission field, in 1775, he wrote: "Half my life is passed at a writing desk."[65] As president, of necessity, he had become an administrator. Most of the time he had to look a year ahead to anticipate needs so that when the annual supply ships came, nothing would be lacking that the missions needed.

Finding that California was colder than he had anticipated, he wrote from San Diego that the friars' tunics "should be made of the thickest sack cloth that can be found." Moreover, the missionaries were to bring along "good blankets." These, however, were to be assigned to definite missions rather than to individual missionaries.[66] Similar concern became his in the matter of mules for transportation, woolen cloth to cover the Indians' nakedness, new habits and sandals for the missionaries, meat for his Mexican workmen, cauldrons for cooking, bells for the churches, or chocolate for the morning meal. In ordering paintings for the mission churches, he suggested the manner in which they were to be painted: the saints were not to be depicted in blue habits but in grey, such as the missionaries wore, and the painter should be a man no less than Joseph de Paez.[67]

Concerning goods received and expenditures made, Serra observed a scrupulous care. In the case of the silver monstrance which Bucareli presented to Mission San Carlos with its formal inscription, the president found himself in a dilemma. He had asked for a monstrance for San Francisco, for Carmel Mission already had one. Now Carmel had two and San Francisco none. Serra did not decide the issue himself but wrote a special letter to the viceroy about it. When no answer came, he wrote a second time. He was careful that no single item of his administration be mishandled.[68] In economic matters he was vigilant.

When a case of snuff arrived at Carmel, the upper layers were found to be, in the opinion of the missionaries who had tried it, "*pura tierra*" (pure earth). He made that statement in a letter to the college. Later, however, when the snuff was found to be of very good quality beneath the top layers, Serra again wrote to the college hoping that the merchant's good name had not been ruined because of his previous remarks![69]

Before leaving Mexico in 1774, he noted that the treasurer at Guadalajara had made an error in his accounts of mission provisions—the merchant involved had received ninety pesos more than was his due. Serra notified the guardian accordingly. Moreover, he opined that there was much to be desired in the way the friars' business and economic affairs were handled in Mexico.[70] When three barrels of Mass wine arrived in California, two of which were empty, the fact did not go unrecorded.[71] Nor could he see any service to the missions when cloth manufactured in Querétaro was sold in Mexico City at a higher price, then shipped again through Querétaro to San Blas and on to California. More cloth more cheaply purchased would clothe more Indians.[72] Concerning the thousand pesos spent in founding a mission and the eight hundred pesos given as the annual salary to the two missionaries serving it, Serra argued that the college should see to it that the monies were "spent in their entirety, and in the most useful manner, for the benefit of the missions for which they are given."[73]

When under Neve's governorship a problem arose concerning an imbalanced "price" in the exchange of corn and wheat between presidios and missions, Serra wrote to the governor: "I admit that in Your Lordship resides the full, absolute and unquestionable authority to fix prices and that everyone should observe it without the least opposition, because it is right that it should be so."[74] He had protested because a certain arbitrariness had been indicated in some exchanges. His motive in explaining his concern is clearly stated in a paragraph that is revealing of his true interest:

> If our anxiety for the prosperity of the missions, and for the just payment of what is due to them, seems to you to have gone beyond its proper bounds, there are one or two lines of thought you might keep in mind. First, these missions' products represent the sweat and toil of ever so many Indians, whose lot in life is pitiably poor. If our zealous actions in their behalf have an appearance of covetousness, we are, in that, following the example of many holy men who have gone

before us. They indeed have far outstripped us in this respect . . . We put ourselves out for the good of these wretched people, and in doing so, work no harm on others.[75]

Serra's prime concern, as that of the other missionaries, was of course the Indians' conversion to Christianity; all other interests in their behalf were but means to that end. Yet, towards the end of his life Serra did not represent himself as the Apostle of California but rather as "this manager of farms." The soil, the crops, the animals, the workers, the implements, floods and droughts, irrigation were all matters for his deep concern and interest. He watched Crespí's dry farming methods at Carmel, and he was happy to note that Cambón in his presence at San Buenaventura was able within two weeks to bring the waters of the river into the newly established mission. He oversaw the gathering of the harvest at San Carlos which was interwoven with the sardine catch in Carmel Bay. As in the Sierra Gorda where he helped to build his church as a common day laborer, in the same manner at Mission San Carlos in his advancing old age he contributed his share to the economic welfare of the mission. "With his own hands," writes Palóu, "he cut out blouses and skirts, as well as shirts and pants for the boys. He became expert in sewing with his own hands, in order to instruct the neophytes. This art they did learn in a short time. This type of work continued for him the whole time he remained in the ministry; just three days before his death, in my presence he was occupied in the task of cutting up and distributing cloth."[76]

Concerning Serra's administration, the same Palóu wrote: "He left these conquests in such a state that all who have seen and read of the happy progress they have made in so short a time are in a state of wonderment."[77] Bancroft, who was the first to give scientific appraisal to Serra's work, stated: "He managed wisely the mission interests both spiritual and temporal," and "he left no minute detail of the subject untouched."[78] In conclusion, two contemporaries of Serra, who were not totally in sympathy with his views nor always in accord with his plans, but who were in a position to judge of his results, have given to posterity their encomiums on Serra's work though they did not mention his name.

When Bishop Antonio Reyes of Sonora considered supplanting the Franciscans in California with the Dominicans of Lower California, Neve, as commandant general of the Interior Provinces, definitely forbade the change. This situation gave him an occasion for appraising the work done in California under Serra up to December 29, 1783, when he issued his statement to Reyes:

> Having considered the matter with all the mature reflection its seriousness and importance requires, it is my duty to inform Your Excellency that the religious of the Apostolic College of San Fernando of Mexico, who administer the missions in [Upper] California, *have surpassed expectation in developing them.* In every respect they are enormous when one compares them with their beginnings . . . In a word they have brought to those establishments that state of progress they enjoy today, *compared to which there are no other missions like theirs in all these provinces.* They have made fertile and fecund a portion of land they found uncultivated wastes.[79]

"These provinces" to which Neve referred were the Internal Provinces over which he ruled and which ranged from Texas to California and which included Lower California and the present northern Mexican states. The president of those missions, their founder, organizer and administrator, was Serra.

Only three years after Serra's death, in 1787, another governor, Fages, spoke glowingly of the progress that had been made in California, and he had the generosity to refer to the earliest years.

> *From the beginning the founding and the spiritual as well as the temporal management of these establishments* was entrusted to the religious of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando of Mexico. *It was they who commenced the grand work* amid the poverty, penury and want which are inseparable from such undertakings in newly discovered countries. Here the difficulties were aggravated on account of the immense distances from every civilized land. Nevertheless, *these religious have placed their institutions on a solid basis.* If we must do justice to all, as is obligatory, we must confess that the rapid, agreeable, and interesting progress in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs which we happily observe and enjoy is the glorious effect of the apostolic zeal, activity, and indefatigable efforts of these religious.[80]

Serra, who of course was there from the beginning and throughout his career as president until his death in 1784, was the organizer and administrator, the fruit of his labors being praised so liberally by both Neve and Fages—the former who had once tried to change the friars' methods and plans, the latter who had considered the missionary president despotic and opposed to the measures of the government.

Serra's large vision and his attention to detail coupled with an undying zeal made the mission enterprise fruitful. His perfectionism remained with him until his dying day. Despite the fact that he realized that the Dominicans were coming to California to replace him and his fellow-missionaries, and despite the fact that Serra referred to this move as "our hardly decorous expulsion," he nevertheless did not want to hand over the missions in a deteriorated state. Even negative sabotage he would not allow. He had continued to ask the college for more missionaries even if the missions were to be transferred. He wrote to Fray Juan Sancho, his guardian, "even if they know for certain that we are to be thrown out. If eighteen are to leave, twenty-five can leave just as well, meantime, *let what we are doing, be done well.*[81] Half measures never satisfied the president. This, one of the final statements of his life as he was about to turn seventy, speaks well for the perfectionism and idealism of Serra and for the attention to detail that characterized his life. In that statement he left as a heritage to the California that was to emerge, an enrichment for the motivation of each succeeding generation.

NOTES

1. The civil government was represented at three levels by the governor, the viceroy, and the king with his Council of the Indies; the three levels of Franciscan government were the presidency in California, the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, and the commissary general at Madrid.

2. Maynard Geiger (tr.), *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1955), 26-28. Cited hereinafter as Geiger, *Palóu.*

3. "I considered myself just as much an official of the king, my lord, and that I am fulfilling an office no less important than those aforesaid officials." Maynard Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1959), II, 327. Cited hereinafter as Geiger, *Life and Times.* Likewise, "I consider that I have also perhaps accomplished something in behalf of the king, my master, in the role I played, be it little or much in the conquest of these lands." *Ibid.*, I, 421.

4. "Who are more soldiers than we [missionaries], who are continually on the battlefield, and as exposed as any soldier to the arrows of the enemy?" Antonine Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra* (3 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1955-6), I, 319. Cited hereinafter as *Writings.* Again, "I have lived among soldiers, have faced the same dangers as they, and have known deprivations in their company." *Ibid.*, II, 129.

5. Serra's physical ailments are referred to *passim* in Vols. I and II of Geiger, *The Life and Times.*

6. "In order to go farther on," declared Serra in San Francisco, "ships will be necessary." Geiger, *Palóu,* 201. When Bucareli sent his maritime expeditions to the northwest coast of America, Serra expressed his wish to go along but realized that his age was against him. "As for myself," he wrote to the viceroy, "now that my advancing years prevent me from hoping to venture so far afield, I take a particular pleasure in helping to place those steppingstones which men of stouter frame may ascend for the extension of the glory of God." Tibesar, *Writings,* II, 267.

7. "We may not see it ourselves, but we can dispose matters so that some day our successors may see the holy Province of California, a daughter of the College of San Fernando. I have told it now. Some may joke about such a plan. However, it does not seem to me ludicrous at all." Tibesar, *Writings,* I, 219. The California province came into being in 1915.

8. Geiger, *Palóu,* 54.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Most of the material on this subject may be found *passim* in Tibesar, *Writings,* and in Geiger, *Palóu.* This writer used this channel material quite fully in an address given to the Ventura Historical Society, Febr. 5, 1957. Unpublished MS in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

11. Tibesar, *Writings,* I, 153.

12. This question is treated in detail in Geiger, *The Life and Times,* II, 258-260.

13. Tibesar, *Writings,* I, 163.

14. *Ibid.,* I, 239.

15. Documentary proof for the missions' origin are the official registers of the respective missions.

16. Tibesar, *Writings,* I, 249.

17. *Ibid.,* I, 273.

18. *Ibid.,* I, 209.

19. *Ibid.,* I, 217.

20. *Ibid.*

21. See Maynard Geiger, "Junípero Serra in the Light of Chronology and Geography (1713-1784)," *The Americas,* VI, 323-326, concerning distances from mission to mission.

22. One fact that almost everyone appears to know is that the twenty-one missions of California were built a day's journey apart. Thus, indeed, it turned out to be. Each mission, however, in the beginning was built for the primary purpose of becoming a center for conversions and only because there was a sufficient number of Indians in the neighborhood to warrant the establishment of a mission.

23. Tibesar, *Writings,* I, 217-219.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 221.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 253-255.
26. Geiger, *The Life and Times*, I, 348-353.
27. Tibesar, *Writings*, I, 295-343.
28. This item of the northwest maritime voyages is not mentioned in the *Representación* but in Geiger, *Palóu*, 146.
29. Tibesar, *Writings*, I, 345-373.
30. *Ibid.*, I, 331-343. The original document is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
31. *Ibid.*, II, 77-79.
32. *Ibid.*, II, 79.
33. *Ibid.*, II, 81.
34. *Ibid.*, II, 97.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, II, 97-99.
37. *Ibid.*, II, 99.
38. Geiger, *Palóu*, 158.
39. Tibesar, *Writings*, II, 101.
40. *Ibid.*, II, 143.
41. *Ibid.*, II, 143-145.
42. *Ibid.*, II, 175.
43. *Ibid.*, II, 199.
44. *Ibid.*, II, 205-207.
45. *Ibid.*, II, 293-295.
46. San Francisco was founded in 1776 and Santa Clara in 1777.
47. This interestingly human story is told in Tibesar, *Writings*, II, 379-397, in Serra's own words, and in Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 35-45, with additional material. San Juan Capistrano was founded in 1775; but because of the revolt in San Diego, it had to be abandoned and re-founded in 1776.
48. Tibesar, *Writings*, II, 321.
49. *Ibid.*, III, 17-27.
50. *Ibid.*, III, 91-93; 115; 143.
51. Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 283.
52. The events mentioned here are described in Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 285-289.
53. Serra suggested this number of missions already in 1775. See Tibesar, *Writings*, II, 321.
54. Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 191-201.
55. *Ibid.*, II, 245-254.
56. *Ibid.*, II, 159-170; 184-190; 209-215; 226-233.
57. *Ibid.*, II, 255-258.
58. *Ibid.*, II, 260-265.

59. *Ibid.*, II, 298-303.

60. *Ibid.*, II, 304-323.

61. Neve's *Reglamento* was signed by him on June 1, 1779. The original document is in the section of *Provincias Internas*, Vol. 121, Cuaderno 2, ff. 375-397, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

62. Tibesar, *Writings*, III, 437-439.

63. This assignment of procurator was always given to a returned California missionary who brought with him experience in the missions and who knew what was needed and best served the missions. Such were Tomás de la Peña, José Viñals, Manuel Martiarena, Pedro Martínez, Juan Norberto Santiago and Juan Cortés. See Maynard Geiger, "The Internal Organization and Activities of San Fernando College, Mexico (1734-1858)," *The Americas*, VI, 24-26.

64. Tibesar, *Writings*, I, 133.

65. *Ibid.*, II, 321.

66. *Ibid.*, I, 139.

67. *Ibid.*, *passim*, I, II, III.

68. *Ibid.*, III, 143-145 and 227-229.

69. *Ibid.*, I, 243.

70. *Ibid.*, II, 21.

71. *Ibid.*, I, 243. See II, 117, for a similar case with regard to olive oil.

72. *Ibid.*, II, 117, 207-209.

73. *Ibid.*, III, 141.

74. *Ibid.*, III, 435.

75. *Ibid.*, III, 437.

76. Geiger, *Palóu*, 273.

77. *Ibid.*, 268.

78. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 415, 416.

79. Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 368-369, and Geiger, *Palóu*, 490.

80. Geiger, *The Life and Times*, II, 333. Italics, the author's.

81. *Ibid.*, II, 372.

My Dear Senator

Letters Between Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson in 1917

By A. LINCOLN

The Theodore Roosevelt-Hiram Johnson correspondence from 1910 to 1913 was published for the first time in the September, 1959, issue of the *Quarterly*. It traced the rise of their close friendship, their roles in the formation of the Progressive Party, and the bitter opposition of the largest California newspapers. The Roosevelt-Johnson correspondence during 1917 and 1918, which is concerned primarily with America's war effort and its role in the peace to follow, is equally important. It is often more interesting and more revealing of their personal characteristics.

In the most comprehensive study of the rise and decline of the Progressives in California the statement is made that developments in the Progressive Convention in Chicago in June, 1916, ended the friendship of Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson.[1] Letters only recently made available in the Library of Congress and in the Bancroft Library of the University of California conclusively prove that this is incorrect. The oversensitive Johnson for a brief period was greatly disturbed by the Colonel's betrayal of the Progressive cause. But soon their firm friendship and mutual admiration was resumed as though nothing had happened.

The years 1917 and 1918 were important in the careers of both men. Roosevelt continued to enjoy his roles on the center of the national stage. Johnson, ignoring the tradition that relegates a freshman senator

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to insignificance, was frequently in the headlines. In either the numerous speeches they made or in the scores of letters they exchanged, it is difficult to find any differences in their views on the basic issues of the day. The Californian often used his friend's arguments and sometimes his exact phraseology in speeches in the Senate.

During Johnson's first two years in the United States Senate, Roosevelt served as his "political father confessor" just as he had during Johnson's first years as governor of California. On the floor of the Senate the Californian was often the Colonel's foremost friend and champion. Their mutual hearty dislike and distrust of President Woodrow Wilson did much to strengthen their bonds of friendship. Roosevelt was delighted when Johnson became one of the Wilson Administration's chief critics.

While Johnson was slowly completing his work as governor and preparing to leave for Washington to assume his new role as Senator from California, he resumed his correspondence with his friend in Oyster Bay. On February 7, 1917, a few days after diplomatic relations were broken with Germany, the Californian wrote of his concern about the reaction of the people, as the United States was about to enter the war in Europe.

> . . . There is a remarkable and singular apathy of our people as apparently we are about to enter a world cataclysm. The startling news that the German Ambassador had been recalled, didn't attract to our Bulletin Boards a corporal's guard; and in these past few days, as the newspapers have teemed with articles that indicated war, and the entrance of America in a venture of greater magnitude than America has ever before engaged in, I cannot find an individual with quickened pulse, or a heart beat beyond the ordinary. . . . Our foreign policy or rather lack of it, has destroyed our national fibre. Back in the consciousness of our people, even now, when we are right up against a world war, is the belief that it's all some mysterious bunco game after all, and that we are simply in another one of the "crises" with which we have become so familiar.
>
> . . . I cannot concede that because they believed in a weak and vacillating peace-at-any-price foreign policy, they voted for Mr. Wilson.[2]

On February 17 Roosevelt sent a lengthy reply. It praised Johnson's work in California and included a sarcastic denunciation of Woodrow Wilson:

> Your letters are always interesting, and illuminating to an extraordinary de-

gree, and I take the liberty of showing them to a few people, whom I think they may enlighten. . . . I wish to get the enlightened businessmen into touch with the actual California situation, because if they will really look at the facts, and if they have any vision, and indeed any common sense, they are bound, in such case, to see that California, under you, has trodden the path which this nation as a whole must tread, if we are to avoid the gravest troubles.

Now as to what you say about the war. I think you have furnished the exact explanation, when you say that our people don't really believe that we are up against a world war, and believe that after all it is merely some mysterious bunco game to save the faces of politicians in Washington, which will serve their purposes, and then pass into the limbo of forgotten things, like the numbers of similar "crises" of the past four years. Mr. Wilson has eaten his own words so often, that he positively relishes them. He is a very cold and selfish man; a very timid man when it comes to dealing with physical danger, and I don't think he is capable of understanding the emotion of patriotism, or the emotion of real pride in one's country. As for shame, he has none, and if anyone kicks him, he brushes his clothes, and utters some lofty sentence. I don't think that he has the slightest feeling against men who merely injure the country. I don't think he has much feeling against any man who humiliates him, if the man also inspires him with physical fear, as in the cases of von Tirpitz and Carranza. But I believe he possesses a merciless vindictiveness and malice toward all who have exposed his mean misconduct. Whether we really go to war or not, Heaven only knows and certainly Mr. Wilson doesn't.[3]

In March, 1917, Roosevelt had another reason to protest a policy of the Wilson administration. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted, on March 13, to report out a treaty with Colombia which would have recognized that he had been guilty of aggression in acquiring the Panama Canal Zone in 1903. In the treaty signed with Colombia in April, 1914, the United States expressed sincere regret for the Panama episode and agreed to pay a $25,000,000 indemnity. Roosevelt denounced the treaty as an attempt to soothe the feelings of would-be blackmailers; and his friends in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, succeeded in shelving it. Roosevelt was determined to kill the proposal. In typical fashion he wrote in a magazine article and in a book that the statement that his administration was in any way connected with the revolutionary movement in Panama was a "deliberate falsehood" and that "every man who makes it knows that it is a falsehood." The treaty was a "crime against the United States" and furthermore would "convict the United States of infamy."[4] Addressing the American Historical

Association at its meeting in conjunction with the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in July, 1915, he again denounced the treaty. He concluded with a vigorous defense of his role in the Panama affair which must have startled the historians:

> If we did wrong, we have no business on the Isthmus, and you have no business to hold an exposition; but, as we did right—not *if*, but *as we did right*—it is infamy to be black-mailed by the demands of bandits who failed to hold up "Uncle Sam."
>
> There is not one action of the American government, in connection with foreign affairs, from the day when the Constitution was adopted to the present time, so important as the action taken by this government in connection with the acquisition and building of the Panama Canal . . . every step taken was a step not only demanded by the honor and the interest of my country, but one taken with scrupulous regard to the nicest laws of international morality, and fair and upright dealing.[5]

On March 14, 1917, immediately after hearing the treaty had been reported out of committee, the Colonel telegraphed to Johnson: "Wish You Could Be Here in Washington To Debate on the Colombian Treaty. Letter Will Follow."[6]

On March 18 news came that Germany was carrying out her announced unrestricted submarine warfare. Without waiting for secretarial help, Roosevelt dashed off a letter to Johnson in his own almost illegible handwriting:

> May I ask you to read what I wrote about the Colombian treaty in my book "Fear God and Take Your Own Part"? I don't know whether I ever sent you the book; if not, I'll do so now, and mark the only chapter you need read!
>
> . . . Wilson [is an] adroit and conscienceless creature [who] wishes to pose as desiring some very mild action, but [is] *very* glad to have any excuse for taking no action at all. . . . Taft, Hughes and Root are chorusing "support the President" —it makes me sick. I think I partially shamed Root out of it—but they all endeavor to follow, not lead, public opinion.[7]

On March 20 in a public address in New York Roosevelt was especially caustic:

> Seven weeks ago we broke relations with Germany. . . . It was not followed by vigorous and efficient action. . . . We have not even prepared. We have spent our time discussing the proposal to pay Colombia 25 millions of dollars blackmail, to atone for having refused to pay ten millions of blackmail fourteen years ago. In the days when this Republic prized manhood, a favorite motto was "Millions

> for defense but not a cent for tribute." Apparently our present motto is, twenty-five millions for tribute but not a cent for defense.[8]

Actually, by this time the treaty had been shelved again; the Senate had briefly debated it, but, realizing that ratification was impossible, referred it back to the committee as the session came to a close.

In the meantime Johnson delivered a dramatic farewell address before the California legislature. He proudly reviewed his achievements as governor since 1911. The "oligarchy that had made our wondrous state a railroad satrapy" had been overthrown. He claimed the state had been reformed and regenerated. Legislation had been passed which favored no privileged class but recognized the equality of the individual and the need for social justice.[9] On March 24 Johnson wrote to Roosevelt of his feelings, and his need for advice, as he was about to begin a new career.

> As I wired you, I resigned on the 15th of March. I leave Monday to be present at the extra session called for April 2nd. My past six years and three months have been of such intense activity, I have been so wholly engrossed with local problems, and state questions, that it is with the utmost difficulty, I contemplate a new adjustment, and my mental processes are not at all as I would like them to be in respect to the great questions now before our country. I want to feel at liberty to call upon you frequently, I am sure in your ever generous spirit you would advise me in this great crisis, a crisis which it seems to me, you, alone, originally foresaw, and concerning which you, alone, had breadth and clarity of vision.
>
> I shall take it very easy, in the beginning, in the United States Senate until I understand. Knowing my own limitations, as I do, I realize how much I am in need of the advice that you can give, and if you will permit it, I shall not hesitate to trespass upon your time and your thought in the months to come.
>
> I have rather complicated the situation in California by appointing a Taft as my successor.[10]

During the last days of March, 1917, while Johnson was en route to Washington, Roosevelt was enjoying his last big game hunt off Punta Gorda, Florida. Using harpoon and lance, he killed a number of huge devil fish, the "big game of the sea." But, unwilling to be absent while Congress voted a declaration of war on Germany and authorized the creation of military forces, he cut short his vacation and rushed home.[11] On April 16, the day war was declared, he answered Johnson's letter.

> I am very glad to get your note of March 24th. Indeed, my dear fellow, I shall

> be very proud to be consulted by you; I deeply appreciate your wishing to consult me. But—I'll bet my bed rock dollar on your going right without consulting anybody!
>
> Well, if you *have* appointed a Taft as your successor, it will make me feel a little easier about my having committed the act—altho at that time the alternative was Hughes. You put your finger on the seat of the trouble—the "resentment of the fact that [you] have made him Governor of a great state." That kind of favor, which can not be returned, causes uneasiness and bitterness in all but really big men. . . . I hope that the President allows me to raise a division for immediate service at the front.[12]

For several months Roosevelt had been formulating his plans to raise a division to fight against Germany. The possibility that he might lead troops similar to his Rough Riders of the Spanish-American War aroused his love of adventure and of military service. Concealing the fact that he was blind in one eye and slowed down by the poisoning of his system owing to the equatorial fever incurred while he was in the Brazilian jungles, he hoped to get into action at once. On February 2, 1917, he wrote the first of a series of letters to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, requesting the opportunity to raise a division of infantry with a divisional brigade of cavalry in event of war. Baker replied quickly and briefly that the request would be "filed for consideration should occasion arise."[13] On February 17 Roosevelt revealed his hopes to Johnson.

> I have applied for permission to raise a division immediately in event of war, and if they will give me the permission, I can get into the trenches within six months with my division, but I anticipate heartbreaking experiences over it. If President Wilson would give me a free hand and send me to the front, I would support him as loyally as any man possibly could, behaving exactly as Thomas and Farragut behaved in the days of the Civil War—I mention them because they were not in sympathy with the party in power. But, it will be very hard for me to raise men if the idea is permitted to gain currency that our army, when raised, is merely to be kept in Oklahoma, and not to be used for fighting.[14]

On March 19 the news that three American ships had been sunk by German submarines caused Roosevelt to request Baker, by telephone, to reconsider his application "in view of the fact that Germany is now actually engaged in war with us." He volunteered to assemble a division and to raise the money to prepare the division until Congress could act, thus gaining at least a month in making it ready. The next day the Secretary of War replied that without authorization of Congress he could not accept volunteers. On March 23 Roosevelt renewed his request. In stating his fitness for command of troops he added the unusual qualifications that during the Santiago campaign "we lost a third of the officers and a fifth of the enlisted men."[15] On April 6 Roosevelt wrote Johnson of his plans and told the new Senator that he had asked Senator Lodge to show him the correspondence with the war department.[16]

On April 7, the day after the declaration of war, Roosevelt rushed to Washington to present his case in person. Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, arranged an interview for him with Baker, Secretary of War. On April 10 the Colonel went to the White House to appeal directly to President Wilson. After the meeting reporters were told that Wilson had indicated that he would take the matter under consideration.[17] Not content with this, the persistent Colonel sent three long letters to Secretary Baker recalling his experience in what he called "the most important battle fought by the United States Army during the last half century."[18]

Roosevelt's fervent desire to get into action at once provided Johnson his first opportunity to be the Colonel's friend and champion on the floor of the United States Senate. Growing restless when no steps were taken to make the volunteer division a reality, Johnson wired Roosevelt that many of the Senators would like to see presented an amendment which would enable him to do what he desired in respect to raising an army division. The Colonel telegraphed immediately, "Earnestly hope that you will have amendment introduced as you proposed."[19] He suggested that Johnson talk the matter over with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

Lodge suggested that Senator Warren Harding, who had "not always the kindliest friendship toward the Colonel," be designated to introduce the amendment, since presentation by him might have greater weight.[20] Johnson was unsympathetic to Lodge's decision and probably disappointed that he would not be able to make his first services in the Senate the introduction of a resolution which would make it possible for his Rough Rider friend's dream to come true.

When the Republican leadership delayed, Johnson on April 23 sent to Lodge an impatient and demanding note: "If Senator Harding is to introduce the amendment would you suggest that it be presented at once when the Senate convenes today?"[21] Lodge agreed. On that day Harding presented an amendment to the Selective Service Bill designed to make the acceptance of volunteer divisions mandatory upon Wilson.[22]

Johnson took a very limited rôle in the preliminary debates. He argued that if the United States was going to fight it should use every available means. He feared that under the draft system a year would pass before American forces might be sent to Europe. Under the Roosevelt volunteer plan, a very large number would offer their services immediately. The United States, therefore, should use both the draft and this volunteer system.[23] On April 28 he spoke briefly in favor of the Harding Amendment, and concluded his remarks with a glowing eulogy:

> Roosevelt's was the clarion voice that first demanded preparedness in this land. We listened with little attention at first, and then you, and we, embraced his doctrine. Roosevelt's tongue was the first to demand Americanism undiluted in the United States. At first little did we heed him, but finally all of us adopted all that he said. Roosevelt typifies to-day Americanism and American citizenship in its highest type.
>
> We are now asking simply that in these late years of this great patriot's life he be permitted to give that life, if it need be, to the country that he loves and to the country he has served. Was there ever a time in any nation's history when a man knocked at the door of the council chamber of that nation and begged merely that he might lay down his life for his country, that he was denied by the nation that he had served?
>
> And so we ask you . . . send this man of dynamic force, of ability, of virility, and of red-blooded courage, typifying the American Nation, over to France, there to bear aloft the American flag for world democracy.[24]

Roosevelt at once telegraphed to the new Senator, "Have heard much of your wonderful speech. I want a copy immediately. Could it be mailed this evening to me, Langdon Hotel, New York?"[25]

Following the receipt of a copy he wrote: "I am deeply touched and pleased by your speech, I should be well content to have it as my epitaph."[26]

On May 7 Johnson answered that he feared the amendment would not pass: "I am hoping for the best, but of course you know the situation here, and realize the absolute and arbitrary power exercised by the Chief Executive. At any rate, I am delighted to have been a little part of it, and I will not cease while there is anything I can do."[27]

Again Roosevelt sent his appreciation of his friend's support:

"Collier and I have [been] holding a special feast of praise and thanksgiving over you! Well, I *am* grateful, my dear fellow; you have just done everything. Thank Heaven we have you in Washington! Dearest love to Mrs. Johnson."[28]

The most bitter opposition to Roosevelt's hopes came from Senator William J. Stone of Missouri, who, on May 17, clenching his fist and pounding a desk, delivered a sarcastic arraignment of Theodore Roosevelt. The Senator called Roosevelt's plans "outrageous," and "smeared all over with politics." The former President was trying to "exploit himself as the great volunteer hero of the war." Stone further asserted that it was "a matter of common knowledge," that Roosevelt had "no respect for authority constitutional or otherwise and is incapable of subordination or obedience." The Senator argued that Roosevelt's lack of sound judgement and "his unfitness to command" were demonstrated in the Spanish-American War when the Rough Rider Colonel led his men into an imminently dangerous position where they would have been cut to pieces if they had not been rescued by a Negro regiment.[29]

During the last part of this attack, Johnson sat fidgeting on the edge of his chair, and his face reflected great indignation. When Stone finished, the California Senator argued there was no foundation for the charge that Roosevelt desired to fulfill personal ambition and to curry future political favor. Then, pitching his voice to a high key and shaking with emotion, Johnson passionately championed his friend:

> I listened with surprise; with chagrin—aye, . . . I listened with humiliation—to the remarks of the senior Senator from Missouri as he excoriated Theodore Roosevelt, and as he held up to the scorn and the contumely of this Nation what he termed contemptuously "the Roosevelt division." . . . But I glory, Mr. President, in the Roosevelt division . . . it is with pleasure and with joy and with a bubbling patriotism that I refer to "the Roosevelt division."
>
> I say to you . . . if he wishes to fight, to die if need be, for his country, it is a sad and it is a humiliating thing that his motives shall be questioned and that his course shall be assailed in the very act, near the close of his great career, which is the noblest and greatest of all.

> Oh, for more Roosevelts in this Nation! . . . With more Roosevelts and more Roosevelt divisions the flag of the United States will go forth in this great world conflict to the victory that every real American should desire and demand.[30]

Johnson reported the episode at once to Oyster Bay:

> It has been a joy and a delight for mé to do anything that I could in the matter of the Roosevelt division. . . . Yesterday, I was talking with John Parker outside of the Senate when Senator Knox, who has been very kind and has been with us all through this thing, of course, sent me a note saying Stone was attacking you. I went inside when Stone had finished probably a half or three quarters of his foul and filthy speech. When he ceased, I looked around to see some distinguished statesman arise and say a word in opposition. There was silence as of the dead and it was obvious that Stone's remarks were going unchallenged. I disliked exceedingly again to get on my feet because of the peculiar poisonous atmosphere of the Senate and its prejudice against new men butting in as I have done but I could not sit still without at least saying something. Very inadequately I did make a brief reply. Had I been an older man in the Senate and had I not been so raging with indignation and anger, and had I been able to talk to the miserable Senator from Missouri in any other place, I would have addressed him in very different fashion and have said the things that surged within me and that I wanted to say—things that could be said in the open in the west, which we do say to skunks who abuse our friends.[31]

As soon as he read of the incident Roosevelt rushed off a telegram to Johnson: "Am Deeply Grateful My Friend and Champion . . . The Rescue By a Colored Regiment Is An Absolute Falsehood Without The Smallest Particle of Foundation In Fact."[32]

Two days later the Senator replied: ". . . write me if you will, as you wired me, the utter falsity of Stone's statement concerning the battle of San Juan. I'd like to aid in setting this lie at rest officially. I don't know how it can be done but I know it ought to be done. Thank you very much for your telegram."[33]

Stone's speech had attacked two things very close to Roosevelt's heart—his own war record and that of his beloved Rough Riders. The Colonel was thoroughly aroused. On May 24 he wrote Johnson that he was forwarding his *Autobiography* which contained in the appendix the official records of the Cuban engagements. Anyone who circulated a story about "my lack of judgement and impetuosity" was either "a fool or a knave deliberately desiring to tell an untruth." He continued:

> . . . as a sequence to my handling the San Juan fight, I was put in command of

> a brigade. Without exception, every fighting officer, and every fighting man, in the brigade eagerly welcomed my taking charge. Without exception, every fighting officer and every fighting man who then served under me has eagerly requested the privilege of serving under me if I raise my division. The best fighting men in the country have come forward to serve under me. . . .
>
> Now, as to Mr. Stone's statement that the Rough Riders were rescued from some predicament by a colored regiment. That is an absolute falsehood, without the slightest foundation in truth of any kind or description. No colored regiment, and no other regiment at the San Juan fight, or at any other time, rescued us. . . .
>
> If you deem it worth while, you are welcome to show this letter to Senator Stone, and tell him that I challenge him to deny a single statement I have made, and if he does deny it, he is guilty of a deliberate untruth, and I will instantly prove it from the official record if he dares to make any specific statement. He can take this up publicly if he desires, and summon me before his committee. I'll appear, and I'll bring the witnesses. All he will have to do is to issue the subpoena, and I'll use towards him, at the close of the hearing, the language he deserves.[34]

The Selective Service Act with other legislation nearly as important, was delayed while the controversy over the Roosevelt division continued. After three weeks of sporadic debate a compromise arrangement was reached. The call for volunteers was not to be mandatory upon Wilson, but he was to be at liberty to accept or reject volunteer units. On May 18 Wilson signed the bill and announced that he would not accept the Roosevelt offer to raise and lead volunteers.[35]

In this rejection Roosevelt probably suffered the greatest disappointment of his life. He wrote in his private correspondence that he was certain the decision was based on petty politics and the personal jealousy of Woodrow Wilson. His public statement was an extraordinarily mild one for him. He stated that he would loyally obey the decision of the commander-in-chief, but begged Wilson to reconsider as the French wanted his division, the planning for it had been careful, and the men would be thoroughly trained. His proposal, he said, was not based on political or personal gratification, but "the sole aim" was to contribute in every way to the success of the war effort.[36]

Senator Johnson wrote to a close friend that the incident "has embittered me more toward Wilson. Wilson's decision was petty and mean and small, and the reasons he gave were untrue in a point of fact."[37] On May 23 he wrote to Roosevelt, "What a hypocritical statement the

President made. I thought your response was great. I could feel for you in the admirable restraint with which you wrote."[38]

Roosevelt's answer revealed his deep bitterness and frustration: "I am so glad you like my answer to the President. He wasn't afraid I would do badly, he was afraid I would do well. He is a *selfish* and treacherous hypocrite without an ounce of patriotism in his rhetorician's body."[39]

On June 8 the discussion was reopened in Congress, when Senator Stone returned to his denunciation of Roosevelt. On this occasion he read the words from a book by Mrs. Anne Riley Hale which repeated the charge that at the Battle of Las Guasimas the Rough Riders ran into an ambush from which they were rescued by the timely arrival of Negro troops. He also read into the *Congressional Record* her account of the battle of San Juan Hill in which she said that "as a Rough Rider achievement, it more properly finds a place among Baron Munchausen Tales, or in some standard work of mythology . . . Instead of *leading* the charge on the San Juan block-house, the dashing troopers (including their commander) *viewed it* from behind a sugar kettle a third of a mile away!"[40]

On June 9 Johnson reported the affair to Roosevelt. Two days later the answer came:

> Will you send me the *Congressional Record* containing these additions of Stone? Doubtless they were put in as part of a general Democratic move, engineered by Wilson. . . . How would it do for me to write you a brief letter in reference to Stone's statement—less fervent than the comments I sent you at first!—which might complete the record? I can tell better when I see what particular scurrilities were inserted by Stone.[41]

In a few days Roosevelt received the *Congressional Record* he requested. His reaction was not "less fervent" but even more venomous than his earlier comments. In the first hand-written draft, in the heat of righteousness, he wrote:

> The circulation of such slanderous, scurrilous, and deliberate mendacity is deeply discreditable to all concerned in it, for it is absolutely impossible that any of those concerned could have believed that there was even the slightest foundation in fact for those foul [here he deleted two words] falsehoods to which they thus gave currency.[42]

Then he reconsidered. He started again in a calmer mood and with a lighter pencil the letter that was actually forwarded to Johnson on June 22:

> It is a little puzzling to know how to deal with such preposterous falsehoods as these to which Senator Stone has given currency by inserting them in the *Congressional Record.* The individuals who start and circulate such falsehoods are necessarily of shameless nature, who eagerly crave even the notoriety of having their mendacity exposed; and in consequence it is worth while restating the facts. These facts have been matters of official record for nineteen years, and there is not the slightest excuse for misrepresenting them.
>
> . . . .
>
> . . . To deny that we were in the San Juan fight is as wilful and as ridiculous a piece of mendacity as to deny that Pickett's men charged at Gettysburg, or that Napoleon's, Wellington's and Blusher's soldiers fought at Waterloo.
>
> . . . The documents I enclose show that President McKinley recommended me to be Brigadier General by brevet 'for gallantry in battle, Santiago de Cuba, on July 1st, 1898.'[43]

On July 9 after consultation with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Frank Kellogg, Johnson wrote that it had been decided not to place an answer to Stone in the *Congressional Record* at that time. But he promised to keep the *Autobiography* in his desk in the Senate so that it might be used on a moment's notice to answer the slanderous charges which he felt would soon be repeated.[44]

Johnson's role early in the first session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress was more than just that of friend and champion of Theodore Roosevelt. It was not in accord with the fiery Californian's personality to "take it easy" in the United States Senate as he had promised Roosevelt and other friends that he would. He had been in the Congress only a few weeks when he began to receive national notice as the defender of free speech and free press. His remarks on April 18, 1917, the first day of the debate on the Espionage Bill, that "in our tenderness for democracy abroad we might forget democracy at home" was widely quoted in the eastern press. His phrase caught on, and he used it often in further attacks on Wilson.[45] The new Senator's assault on the bill the next day made headlines and was carried in full in many newspapers. Johnson argued that restrictions in the censorship action on free press and free speech threatened the very preservation of democracy. In "nebulous and elastic language" it would grant the President power to prescribe what people shall speak and write. "The powers conferred," he concluded, constitute "an excursion into autocracy in America that can not be justified or excused by our desire to destroy autocracy in Europe."[46]

Johnson's remarks on May 11, 1917, on the censorship section of the Espionage Bill, constituted his first major speech in the United States Senate. He made his debut under the most conspicuous conditions. The Senate was full, and the elder statesmen gave him more attention than is usually accorded to a freshman Senator. The New York *World*, Wilson's chief publicity organ, reported that Johnson, "a past master in the Western school of oratory, was in splendid form . . . speaking easily and fluently and rarely consulting the impressive stack of manuscripts piled on his desk." The San Francisco *Call*, usually one of Johnson's more bitter critics, noted that his vigorous attack aroused the Senate from the lethargy which had pervaded it for weeks and that he held the Senators' attention as no member had in recent years. The New York *American* called it a "ringing speech" which electrified the galleries and profoundly impressed the Senators.[47]

He began his forceful and at times dramatic speech by saying that the best way to remedy the defects of the censorship section proposed by the Department of Justice was to eliminate it entirely. It was "an inroad on democracy and an excursion into autocracy." We should follow the President in conscripting the resources and manpower of the nation for battle. But we should follow no one into destruction of the fundamentals of democracy. This "gag law" threatened the very pillars upon which our government rests. If passed, a subordinate government official would rule upon what you shall write and say. His concluding denunciation of the censorship section was typical of Johnson's wartime speeches:

> It makes a crime of the truth. . . . Buttressed by this law, public officials of this land will be greater than the people, their creators. Buttressed by this law, inefficiency and incompetency may stalk unquestioned and undenied. Buttressed by this law, even dishonesty may stalk about in the secrecy that it imposes.
>
> This nation is the beacon light for the democracies of the world. It is the beacon on the summit of the mountain to which the eyes of all mankind may turn. It is the light of salvation to all the oppressed. Would you here take this beacon that is ours, and of which we boast, and would you quench it when democracy, by war or crises, comes to the test?[48]

At the conclusion of this eloquent plea his colleagues flocked to his seat and warmly congratulated him. The New York *American* and other papers printed the speech in full. The New York *Evening Journal* put Johnson's picture on its front page and noted that the vigorous speech turned the tide of sentiment which had previously favored censorship. The New York *World* said the proposal to omit the censorship section developed such surprising strength that the administration forces "were swept off their feet." Johnson won his first Senatorial victory when his resolution was adopted 39 to 38.[49]

Theodore Roosevelt was enthusiastic in his praise. He immediately sent his congratulations. A week later he wrote, "I hear on every side of the extra-ordinary way in which you have risen through the appalling senatorial inertia; no other new member has even approached your record."[50]

In letters to close friends from the first days of the war, Johnson had constantly complained about what he called the "insincere," "despotic," and "hypocritical" methods of Woodrow Wilson. In June, 1917, he wrote bitterly that though he had voted to give the President powers greater than those of the Kaiser, stopping short only of voting him the power to suppress the right of criticism, he had no confidence in Wilson's ability or sincerity in the use of these powers.[51]

Although Roosevelt had refrained from criticizing Wilson in public since the beginning of the war, he opened in July a vigorous and often highly exaggerated attack upon him. In Pittsburgh, in a speech entitled "Wake Up, America!" he declared that the administration was guilty of a "criminal refusal" to prepare before the start of the war. Furthermore, our four-month war effort was a "miracle of inefficiency." The United States could not win the war with "high-sounding words" and "empty rhetoric." Americans should strain every nerve to make ready millions of men and abundance of all the infinitely varied instruments of modern warfare. In typical Roosevelt style he argued that "the only proper rule is never to fight at all if you can honorably avoid it, but never under any circumstances to fight in a half-hearted way."[52]

Johnson sent his hearty approval of the speech: "Just a word to tell you how much I enjoyed your speech in Pittsburgh. It had a real ring and it was mighty pleasant to read after the uncertain and nebulous utterances that are inflicted upon us here."[53]

The Revenue Bill of 1917, discussed during the final weeks of the first session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress, brought forth another issue upon which Roosevelt and Johnson were in agreement. On August 20 Johnson attacked the Senate Finance Committee's proposed Revenue Bill as "unfair and unjust." It dealt too "gently and generously" with the corporations. "Those who coin swollen fortunes from the blood of war," he asserted, should bear the brunt of wartime taxation. He introduced an amendment to the bill that would have raised the excess profits tax to 80 per cent.[54]

Roosevelt offered his support in his letter of August 28:

> I write to express a word of sympathy with you in your position as regards the excess profits matter, as I understand it. . . . What is most needed at present is a very heavily graduated tax on the excess profits due to war conditions, a tax as heavy as Great Britain has now imposed.
>
> Very sincerely yours,
> Theodore Roosevelt
>
> P.S. I don't suppose that this will be of the least use to you, my dear Senator, but if by any chance you care to make use of it, you are entirely welcome to do so.[55]

On September 5 Roosevelt told an audience in Chatham, New York, that the man who made a huge profit out of the war was an "enemy of his country and an enemy of mankind."[56] An 80 per cent tax should be placed on excess profits. But both Republican and Democratic leaders in the Congress vigorously opposed the 80 per cent tax; and Johnson's amendment was overwhelmingly defeated. In his letter of September 8, Johnson reviewed the struggle. In typical fashion he denounced some of their opponents as "dangerous traitors."

> Your good letter relating to the Revenue Bill and the war profits taxes reached me a few days since. I purposely did not give it publicity because at the time of its receipt it was obvious that I was up against a brick wall, that the lines had set, and that the situation had become acute and bitter, and I did not wish to involve you under those circumstances in the contest.
>
> In my opinion, there are two kinds of traitors in this country today. There is the wilful pro-German, who, under every specious and hypocritical plea, endeavors to undermine us in the great struggle. And there is the no less dangerous traitor who demands the maximum blood sacrifice, but at the same time insists that certain companies . . . shall be permitted to make extortionate profit out of war travail and our peril. These profit-making dollar patriots are as disloyal as those who secretly sympathize with and aid in German propaganda.[57]

An immediate answer came from Oyster Bay: "I thank you for your fine letter. It was characteristic of you not to quote my letter in view of the conditions you set forth. But I am mighty glad I took public ground about the matter, and I am sending you herewith a copy of my speech so that you can have it convenient in the very unlikely event of your needing to refer to it."[58]

When Congress adjourned in late September, Johnson returned to California and temporarily stepped out of the national limelight. Roosevelt, on the other hand, threw the full force of his tremendous energy into a campaign to speed up the war effort. He wrote editorials twice a week for publication in the Kansas City *Star* and about fifty other papers. He also began an extensive speaking tour before huge audiences throughout the Midwest.

With ridicule and sarcasm Roosevelt appealed to the Wilson Administration to speed up. Although the war in Europe had been waging for more than two years, we were still wholly unable to defend ourselves or to render efficient military aid to our allies. Because of the administration's failures and hesitation our soldiers were drilling with broomsticks for guns, logs for cannons, barrels mounted on sticks for horses.[59] Although his exaggerated and unnecessarily bitter attacks undermined public confidence in the President as a war leader, America's war efforts would have been slower without Roosevelt's voice, and less effective. World War I might have been prolonged.

When Congress reconvened, Johnson continued to be the friend and champion of Roosevelt and his ideas. Once again the two men agreed in their personal hatred of Wilson and of his wartime leadership. They were in complete agreement on basic wartime policy. When victory was achieved, they were in accord on the program for the peace to follow.

NOTES

1. George E. Mowry, *The California Progressive* (Berkeley, 1951), p. 243.
2. Hiram Johnson MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
3. Theodore Roosevelt MSS, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
4. New York *Times*, March 14, 1917; *Metropolitan*, March, 1915; Theodore Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* (New York, 1916), pp. 339 and 325.
5. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (eds.), *The Pacific Ocean in History, Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama Historical Congress, July 19-23, 1915* (New York, 1917), pp. 149 and 150.

6. Johnson MSS.

7. Johnson MSS.

8. New York *Times*, March 21, 1917.

9. Oakland *Tribune*, March 15, 1917.

10. Johnson MSS.

11. Theodore Roosevelt, "Harpooning Devilfish," *Scribner's Magazine*, September, 1917.

12. Johnson MSS.

13. For Roosevelt's correspondence with Baker see the *Metropolitan*, August, 1917, and *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National Edition (New York, 1926), XIX, 187-224.

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The Influence of Labor on State Policy
1860 - 1920

The Experience of California

By GERALD D. NASH

ONE ASPECT of the history of public policy that still remains to be fully developed is the impact of labor groups on the development of legislative policy during the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that the years between 1860 and 1920 constituted an era of injunctions and restraints on unions, workingmen did succeed in shaping the actions of lawmakers on the state level, long before labor associations achieved prominence on the national scene during New Deal days. A more detailed study of the influence of labor leaders on public policy between 1860 and 1920 in one state, California, demonstrates that they exerted a dominant influence on the course of legislation. Indeed, almost every single measure affecting workers which the legislature adopted during this period originated in the office of a union or of its representatives who advocated such proposals to implement their own goals. The important position of labor leaders after 1933 in shaping national legislation thus represented not so much a new departure as a reflection of the shifting administrative burden from the states to the federal government. Certainly this was true of such diverse problems as the limitation of working hours, child labor, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, and public employment exchanges.

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In these spheres, labor groups were remarkably successful during the nineteenth century in attaining their objectives. Whatever reverses they may have suffered in the state and federal courts, at the very same time they virtually dictated legislative policy in the states. The experience of California indicates that, in the broader perspective of American labor history between 1860 and 1920, this was a period of great progress if judged in terms of labor influence on public policy-making bodies.

Economic specialization after 1870 confronted workingmen in California, like their brethren elsewhere, with special problems. The more intensive exploitation of labor, for example, soon raised serious questions about the length of the average working day as well as about work performed by an increasing number of women and children. Closely related were wage levels, as unskilled employees in large-scale enterprises lost bargaining power. Concentration of laborers in large cities created serious health hazards and focussed the attention of the whole community on working conditions in shops and factories. Use of new machines in diverse forms of manufacturing also made industrial accidents more serious than at any other previous time. Meanwhile, the increasing number of cyclical fluctuations caused by industrialization created periodic unemployment which, in turn, led to a growing number of labor disputes.

One of the demands of labor unions centered on the adoption of standards for the limitation of hours during the working day. The shortage of workers in the West placed them in a most favorable position. Thus, as early as 1865, A. M. Kenaday, first secretary of the San Francisco Trades Union, secured the adoption of an eight-hour plank by his union. To achieve such a standard he drafted an appropriate bill, which he placed in the hands of the San Francisco delegation in the legislature. In addition, he himself went to Sacramento as a representative of the San Francisco trade unions to present their petition containing eleven thousand signatures in support of the passage of the bill. Due to his effective lobbying, Assemblyman Wilcox, a friend of labor known as the "Mariposa Blacksmith," introduced the measure which was passed by a large majority in the lower house. In the senate, however, some members added an amendment to make the restriction applicable only whenever Massachusetts enacted a similar law. While the measure was thus held up during the session of 1865, workers continued their agitation. They held mass meetings and formed special pressure groups such as the House Carpenters Eight-Hour League, and the Industrial League, which carried on vigorous campaigns. On June 3, 1867, they celebrated a California Labor Day on which 2,066 unionists marched to demonstrate for a shorter work day. Both the Republican and state Democratic platforms of 1865 had included the demand in their respective platforms. After further debate by the lawmakers, they approved a bill in February, 1868, to create the eight-hour standard as the legal limit on public works, in the absence of special private contracts. But the privilege so easily won was soon rendered ineffective by the depression of the seventies which brought much unemployment to the state. In 1869, also, the California supreme court declared that this law did prevent the making of private contracts for longer hours, thus greatly diminishing the effectiveness of the statute.[1]

With the slow return of prosperity, the newly-organized Workingmen's Party in California during 1878 once again advocated strict public enforcement of the eight-hour rule. At the Constitutional Convention of 1879, C. J. Beerstecher succeeded in inserting a clause in the charter which reiterated the restraints of the existing law. During the course of the following decade, trade unions renewed their agitation. San Francisco workers, disturbed by the general violation of the law, organized an Eight-Hour League in 1889 under the aegis of the San Francisco Federated Trades Council. The efforts of this group in California's largest city were so successful that it saw no necessity for resort to public action. But the depression of 1893 once again renewed the need for publicly-enforced standards. At the direct behest of the State Federation of Labor, the legislature passed a bill to provide for the eight-hour limitation on public works in order to circumvent contrary court decisions. To remove any possible doubts about the legality of such a move, the lawmakers also framed a constitutional amendment which the voters ratified in the November, 1902, elections. Together with another act to implement it, this provided for the effective enforcement of the eight-hour limitation on public projects.[2]

Growth of a mature economy in California increased the need for the more specialized application of restraints on working hours. The

Lochner case in 1905 had dissuaded legislators from placing an eight-hour limitation on women's labor, but the reversal of the U. S. Supreme Court in *Muller* v. *Oregon* just three years later cleared the way. Among those who worked actively for such a measure in California was Maud Younger of the Women's Union Label League, who also had the support of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The State Federation of Labor, too, at its annual convention in 1910, pledged its support for such a bill in the forthcoming legislature. There, Assemblyman Thomas F. Griffin, who had long agitated for such a reform, sponsored an appropriate measure with the support of the State Federation and Miss Younger. Farm interests and packers, however, were able to secure the insertion of a clause granting them exemption. In this mutilated form, the lawmakers passed the measure. The act imposed legal restraints by stipulating a maximum of eight hours of daily work in specified occupations, under punishment of fine and imprisonment. Until 1915, the State Federation also sought to secure the adoption of a general eight-hour rule applicable to all industries, but it only aroused the hostility of a wide variety of interests. After 1915, it heeded the advice of Samuel Gompers to abandon such efforts and to depend on its own resources as a voluntary association.[3]

Many labor associations during this period were also concerned with securing a favorable legal framework concerning liens to protect their wages. The succession of such enactments in California was continuous. Illustrative was the act of 1862. The Trades Union of San Francisco, a leading labor organization, approved amendments to the existing statutes which were incorporated in a bill drafted by its leader, A. M. Kenaday. Then a delegation from the union, including Kenaday, M. M. Creary, and A. M. Gray, presented it to the legislators, together with a long petition. With such endorsement they were easily able to persuade the lawmakers to enact their desired statute. Changes five years later were formulated in similar fashion as the Industrial League sponsored a more comprehensive mechanic's lien law which the legislators also enacted. The impact of economic changes led to a large amount of experimentation in this field during the next three decades as the lawmakers tried to fit the legal framework to the new developments in response to the demands of labor organizations, as in 1885 when the Knights of Labor in California proposed specific amendments. The greatest weaknesses of this branch of public policy, the legislators found, were the lack of specialized technical knowledge and specialization on the part of judges who interpreted such laws.[4]

The sheer increase in the number of laborers during this period enlarged the variety of problems they encountered in collecting wages, since the statutory declarations in lien laws before 1911 were generally ineffective. At the request of the labor commissioner in 1910, the legislature passed an act placing restrictions on employers who refused to pay earned wages to employees upon termination of their services. Administrative responsibility for enforcement was vested in the State Bureau of Labor Statistics. During the first year of operation, the commissioner received 12,802 complaints, and was instrumental in settling 8,409 of these by collecting $171,800 in due wages. Meanwhile, as the rise of large corporations made individual workers less independent, the State Federation of Labor, in 1915, successfully urged the adoption of a legal standard to require bimonthly salary payments. At the same time, the desire for effective administration of mechanic's lien laws led the lawmakers to shift further the responsibility for execution from the courts to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Its professional staff gained a grasp of the manifold technical details which this work involved, and the lawmakers came to rely increasingly on these experts for suggested changes and improvements.[5]

After 1900, the rapidly growing mass of unskilled workers made it difficult for existing labor unions to maintain minimum wage standards, and many pressure groups thus looked to state government for this function. In large measure, the impetus for such action came from professional reformers and social workers rather than from labor organizations. The drive was led by the National Consumer's League when, in 1911, it began a campaign to secure state laws placing restrictions on wage rates for women and children. This program was supported not only by the California Consumer's League, but also by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and the California Federation of Women's Clubs, led by Mrs. Katherine Edson. This energetic reformer had already gained a national reputation for her welfare work and impressed Governor Hiram Johnson, who gave his full support to her proposal. On the other hand, labor unions were almost uniformly opposed to state minimum wage standards since they feared that such government action would undermine their own existence. Samuel Gompers, in a letter to leaders of the Federation in California, warned them to

> proceed with the utmost caution in any effort to establish a minimum wage by-law. Speaking fundamentally, a minimum wage should be established and maintained by the organizations of labor.... By the same token it is more than probable that... another law will be enacted, compelling workingmen to work for... a maximum. When that time comes... it will only be another step to... slavery.

California labor leaders like Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the State Federation, Sarah Hagen of the Garment Workers Union, or James W. Mullen, editor of the *Labor Clarion*, echoed this opinion and produced a long list of arguments against the proposed statute. But Johnson's political power was able to overcome this opposition, and in April, 1913, both houses of the legislature approved the law.[6]

To ensure effective enforcement of the measure, the legislators provided for rationalized administration. Not satisfied with mere statutory declaration, they created an Industrial Welfare Commission, a specialized board staffed by experts. Composed of five members appointed by the governor, it was to determine the adequacy of salary levels in specific cases and to collect information on the relationship between the cost of living and working hours. After public hearings and conferences, they could issue administrative orders stipulating minimum wage standards, maximum hours, and requirements for safeguarding workers' health. Under the leadership of Katherine Edson, who was to be executive commissioner from 1916 to 1930, the board successfully carried out its mandate although its jurisdiction was limited by court decisions, especially the leading case of *Adkins* v. *Children's Hospital* in 1923. Nevertheless, between 1922 and 1930, in addition to collecting valuable statistics, the board declared a minimum wage standard of $16 weekly in California, a level which it was able to maintain in spheres untouched by judicial vetoes.[7]

Mechanization of industry and consequent reliance on unskilled workers also led to much more widespread use of child labor and consequent efforts to restrict the practice. Existing legislation pertained mainly to legal rules on apprenticeship. The first California legislature adopted colonial laws on the subject. Thus the act of 1858 permitted minors to bind themselves as apprentices for seven years after the age of fourteen. When no guardians were available to bind a child, he could do so himself with the consent and supervision of the superior court. Similarly, the system was still considered a convenient means of caring for dependent children, as county supervisors were endowed with the power to let out dependent youngsters. Due to the shortage of labor in the state, however, these laws were used infrequently and were often violated. The Carpenters Union complained in 1870 that boys would stay with their masters for a year or two and then would strike out on their own. In 1870, only 393 persons between ten and fifteen years were apprenticed, and thereafter contracting between individuals became more common. On the other hand, some of the trades unions worried over the replacement of adults by minors and sought restrictions on such labor. The Federated Trades Council, in 1888, proposed a measure to the legislature to provide stricter penalties for violation of apprentice laws, which was enacted. But specialization and large-scale industry continued to lead to the breakdown of the system.[8]

Labor associations of this period thus were more concerned with securing restraints on hours, standards, and working conditions of minors. One of the most hotly-contested sections of the Eight-Hour Law of 1868 was the proviso that masters should not require their apprentices to work longer hours. Experience showed this statutory declaration to be ineffective, and it was widely disregarded. A plea for others means of administration was made by the San Francisco Federated Trades Council in 1889 which succeeded in persuading the lawmakers to enact more stringent regulations. The state labor commissioner was authorized to register all minors under sixteen and to investigate working conditions. Since the inspection staff was small, the commissioner could do little to carry out this responsibility. Under the constant nagging of these state officers, the legislature, in 1901, finally approved necessary funds for the hiring of assistants. During their first year, they visited 6,479 establishments in San Francisco and found that of 3,633 minors under eighteen, 1,495 were working more than 54 hours weekly under conditions clearly in violation of the law.[9]

During the early years of the century, the statutory declarations imposing restrictions on the age and working hours of children were enforced only rarely. In response to the pleadings of the labor commissioner, in 1905, the lawmakers entrusted him with responsibility for carrying out existing regulations in this sphere, but failed to make sufficient appropriations to allow him to hire experts. The State Federation of Labor was much disturbed over this situation and its committee on legislation urged a more forceful administration. In 1911, Commissioner McLaughlin tried to develop a systematic plan in cooperation with school officials. In the meantime, the State Federation, with the support of an enterprising San Francisco priest, Father Charles N. Lathrop, succeeded in securing the passage of an act to impose more rigid restraints on night work. Large-scale violations continued, however. In 1915, following a national trend, the Women's Legislative Council of California, representing twenty-five women's organizations, therefore drafted a still more stringent bill to prohibit child labor in dangerous occupations, which the legislature enacted after much amendment.[10]

But poor coordination between various state agencies still hampered the effectiveness of such restrictions. While the State Department of Education was authorized to issue working permits to minors, the labor commissioner was responsible for enforcing the other provisions of the law. Greatly concerned, the Juvenile Protection Association of San Francisco called a meeting of labor leaders and social workers in San Francisco during July, 1919, to discuss needed improvements. The group secured a lawyer to draft a new bill, which was then sponsored by the State Federation and introduced by a labor assemblyman. As enacted, it set up a minimum age standard of sixteen years for workers, and provided for a maximum eight-hour day for persons under eighteen. After 1921, the large influx of Mexican migratory workers, who came with the expansion of agriculture in California, greatly aggravated the problem. After 1926, the state commissioners stepped-up their inspection tours and suggested additional legal restraints to the lawmakers. They were not entirely successful, although gradually they made slow progress in decreasing child labor in the state.[11]

Industrial specialization in the state also brought an awareness of the importance of the legal framework governing employees' liability. Existing statutes, derived from the English common law, were based on the master-servant relationship familiar in an agricultural economy. In the thirty years after 1850, the California supreme court dealt with only twelve recorded cases in this sphere. But the use of heavy power machinery in factories and the employment of unskilled labor greatly increased the risks of employees, although the difficulties of establishing claims for damages through legal action remained. The courts administering these laws suffered from lack of technical competence and functional specialization, and generally refused to admit recovery of damages for accidents. In addition, lack of coordination also arose from the varying interpretations of such laws in different jurisdictions. Labor groups thus urged the state legislators to modify the statutes in their favor. The San Francisco Labor Council drafted what it considered to be an appropriate statute, which it submitted to the state legislature in 1903. The State Federation gave it powerful endorsement and ordered its regular lobbyist in the state capitol to conduct a campaign for its passage. The resulting act of 1903 eliminated an important loophole in the existing legal framework by stipulating that negligence on the part of an employer's workers which resulted in harm to other employees would still make the employer himself liable.

The state senate spent an entire session in debate on the bill, because mining and railroad interests, most immediately affected by it, were bitterly opposed. The final act of 1903 was not as broad as the union had desired since it only gave sanction to recent court decisions, construing employers' responsibility in strict terms. But the San Francisco Labor Council continued to press for its original measure, and in 1907 was successful. Then the lawmakers passed an act virtually abolishing the fellow-servant rule while prohibiting private contracts which might seek exceptions. In effect, they shifted the burden from the employer to the employee by imposition of restraints through legislative declaration. Such reform still did not touch the more fundamental problems of inadequate professionalization and functional specialization and lack of coordination in the judicial administration of such public policies. As yet, the lawmakers were experimenting with possible remedies in a highly complicated and expanding field of state action.[12]

The accelerated rate of California's economic growth after 1900 made the problems of workmen's compensation more serious and rendered the nineteenth-century legal framework ineffective. Drawing on the experience of the Agricultural Era, the State Federation endorsed a model Employer's Liability Act, framed by its parent organization.

In 1911, it used its influence in Sacramento to secure enactment of the bill without meeting great opposition. As a hostile contemporary observer noted:

> There was no central trade or industrial association of employers capable of dealing with legislative questions of this magnitude. On the other hand, the labor unions had investigated the subject . . . and were in a position to represent their full strength to the Legislature in favor of their demands.

The act modified the doctrine of contributory negligence and changed it to comparative negligence. It also declared the common law doctrine of risk, and the fellow-servant rule, abolished. To overcome the weaknesses shown in the administration of such measures during the nineteenth century, the policymakers created an Industrial Accident Board. Such commissions had already proven themselves able to provide professional, specialized, and coordinated leadership in the application of complicated legal rules.

The first Industrial Accident Board concentrated on the collection and dissemination of information to develop a compensation program. Studies of the problem convinced its members that the state itself should enter upon the insurance business. Government ownership and operation was to force employers to take out protection for their employees even though they could carry coverage with private companies if they desired. Quite understandably, the representatives of industrial accident insurance firms protested vigorously to the legislature, and they were joined by agricultural groups such as the State Fruit Growers' Association. But the unequivocal support for such a bill of Governor Johnson and of most of the labor unions in the state, was able to provide sufficient impetus in 1913 for its enactment.[13]

The act of 1913 created a new Industrial Accident Commission which was charged with two major duties. In the first place, it was to adjudicate disputes over accident compensation between employers and insurance carriers. To develop effectiveness, Commissioners Will J. French, A. J. Pillsbury, and Harris Weinstock, introduced functional specialization in the board by organizing four separate departments. Three were concerned with the judicial function. A Medical Department, along with a Permanent Disability Department, advised the commissioners on examinations and hearings involving disability ratings; the Compensation Department served as referee in cases of disagreement. Such rationalization of administration did away with the slow, expensive and cumbersome procedure that had hampered execution of compensation laws by judges. Under the commission's administration, court costs were virtually eliminated, pleadings were minimized, and procedure made informal. Lawyers were required in rare instances only, and the time for consideration of a case was immeasurably shortened. Moreover, the commissioners were able to coordinate settlement of the vast multitude of compensation problems which were now centralized under their authority.

A second major function of the Industrial Accident Commission was management of a state insurance fund. Actual operation was the task of the Department of Insurance, a functional division of the board. Designed to aid employers who might wish protection against liabilities imposed on them by departures from the common law rules, it was created because of the prevailing uncertainty in 1913 about willingness of private capital to provide such insurance. Moreover, the policymakers hoped, too, that state enterprise would serve as a "yardstick," would set up a standard which would force private companies to adhere to certain levels of fair dealing in claim adjustments. Finally, public insurance was designed to give employers an opportunity to obtain protection at cost, for the fund returned excess earnings by paying dividends to insurers. During the 1920's, the Industrial Accident Commission managed the fund much like a private insurance company, and made it self-supporting. From the very beginning, the experiment was a great success in California. During the first year of operation, the commission secured $547,161 in premiums. By 1928, it had written $22,000,000 and had appropriated for itself 32 per cent of the compensation insurance business in the state, far outdistancing its fifty-eight private rivals.[14]

Seasonal variations in California, and climate reinforced by industrial specialization, produced great fluctuations in the demand for labor in the state and created a real need for employment offices. Abuses of private exchanges first led the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, in 1861, to urge the legislators to impose restraints on such businesses through requiring licenses. Under the law which was enacted to meet this demand, operators of such establishments were required to pay $50 a quarter for a license and to keep records of their transactions for the inspection of municipal officials. The boom years after 1865 made the problem of labor distribution even more acute, and thus, a group of executives from leading San Francisco firms formed the California Labor Exchange to serve as a free employment bureau. At their request, the legislature appropriated $12,000 for its operation between 1870 and 1872. Meanwhile, during the next two decades, outrageous fees, misrepresentations, collusion with employers, and the listing of fictitious positions by private agencies continued. The State Bureau of Labor Statistics used its powers of investigation to make a thorough inquiry into these practices in 1891, and the commissioner urged the imposition of restraints in a bill he submitted to the Sacramento lawmakers. He also advocated the establishment of state employment agencies in cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants. This suggestion was not immediately adopted, but in 1895, Commissioner Fitzgerald opened such an office in his department. Of the 18,920 applicants who came to him, about 5,800 found work through his efforts. Due to the general stringency of state finances, in the wake of the Panic of 1893, the legislature was unable to support a program on a permanent basis. Consequently, labor unions continued to press for the regulation of private agencies, instead. In 1902, the legislative committee of the San Francisco Labor Council prepared a comprehensive measure which it urged successfully upon the legislature. Aimed sharply at existing abuses, it prohibited the dispensing of misleading information by statutory declaration and fines, while endowing the state labor commissioner with broad licensing powers.[15]

Industrial diversification and specialization intensified the need for public restrictions on private employment agencies. The mushrooming of such enterprises led the labor commissioner, in 1909, to advocate that all fines collected from violators of existing laws be paid into a special Bureau of Labor Statistics fund to aid better enforcement. In response to this request, the legislators also authorized the commissioner to license employment bureaus and to make arrests. At the behest of the State Federation, McLaughlin developed a uniform registration system to be used by private agencies. Many labor leaders, like Paul Scharrenberg, wanted to do away with private employment agents altogether. Bills to this effect were introduced in various legislatures after 1916, but they aroused bitter opposition. Yet the State Federation was successful at least in securing further restraints on private operators when in 1923 the legislature accepted its suggestions. Under new amendments, also designed to specialize and coordinate the labor commissioner's functions, he was instructed to develop standard, uniform employment contracts to be used throughout the state. He was also to issue fee schedules for agencies and to enforce various other standards.[16]

Still the State Federation persisted in its demands for public ownership and operation of employment agencies since it considered them to perform a necessary and vital service. Such requests became especially insistent during the depression of 1913-1914. Already in 1911, the State Federation had sponsored a bill creating a free, public employment exchange, but Governor Johnson had blocked it with a pocket veto, as he did once again two years later. With the growth of unemployment, however, Commissioner McLaughlin, as well as the officials in the Commission of Housing and Immigration, persuaded Johnson to change his mind. In 1915, the governor successfully urged his legislature to create such a public agency with branches in the state's largest cities. In the beginning, the lawmakers provided for four offices under the jurisdiction of the Labor Commissioner. By 1930, seven additional new offices had been opened, coordinated after 1927 by a Division of State Employment Agencies in the Department of Industrial Relations. Seasonal branches were also set up as needed, flourishing side by side with private competitors. Although the state spent approximately $1,000,000 on this function between 1918 and 1930, this was only a third of the estimated savings accruing to workers from this service.[17]

As economic growth in California presented its workingmen with problems of wider range and greater magnitude than they had faced in preceding periods, they formed voluntary associations to cope with particular obstacles as they arose. In certain fields, however, such as wage and hour limitations, child labor, employer's liability, workmen's compensation, sanitary conditions, and employment exchanges, they found their own actions relatively ineffective and so they appealed to state government for help. Until World War I, unions still dictated most of California's labor legislation. Employer's groups were only formally organized after 1920 when they came to constitute a powerful barrier to the demands of labor interests before the legislature.

In California, then, the State Federation of Labor, the state commissioner of labor statistics, and individual labor unions instigated most of the labor measures placed on the statute books between 1865 and 1920. In addition, through the services of a regularly-paid lobbyist maintained in the state capitol, the legislative agent, the State Federation was also able to secure enactment of the bills it supported while, at the same time, was able to squash all others that it considered detrimental to its interests. Such a record of accomplishment was outstanding when compared to that of other pressure groups seeking to influence legislative policy in this period. And the positive achievements which were gained, including restrictive standards on wages and hours and sanitary conditions, workmen's compensation and public employment exchanges often outweighed the limitations placed on individuals, and particularly unions, by the courts.

Thus, California labor organizations were extremely effective in implementing their goals with the aid of the legislature during the half-century after the Civil War. Then, state houses, rather than Congress, were the main arena for the struggle of interest groups seeking to influence public policies in the social and economic sphere. After 1933, as industry and labor grew to national proportions, the scene of conflict was transferred to the federal level. Such a shift should not obscure the process whereby labor groups had long influenced legislative action, however, for it represented a logical development rather than a new departure. Moreover, the success of labor organizational-shaping in public policies must be judged not only in terms of its relations with the judiciary, but also with legislatures and administrative agencies. Certainly, the example of the experience of California indicates that while unions were suffering reverses in the courts, they were remarkably successful in guiding the course of state labor legislation.

NOTES

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3. 1911 Stats. 437; Franklin Hichborn, *The Story of the Legislature of 1911* (San Francisco, 1912), pp. 246-260; California State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1910 (Los Angeles, 1911), p. 9; *Labor Clarion*, March 10, 1911, p. 9; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, March 29, 1911; *BLS Report*, 1912 (Sacramento, 1913), pp. 40-42; *ibid.*, 1918 (Sacramento, 1919), p. 25; *ibid.*, 1928 (Sacramento, 1929), pp. 46-48; L. B. Leavitt, "Report of Legislative Agent," in California, State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1911 (Sacramento, 1912), p. 93; San Francisco *Chronicle*, January 30, 1911; Sacramento *Bee*, February 17, 1911; California, Assembly, *Journal*, 1911 (Sacramento, 1912), p. 2562.

4. 1850 Stats. 211; 1853 Stats. 202; 1855 Stats. 156; 1857 Stats. 84; 1862 Stats. 384; 1864 Stats. 465; 1868 Stats. 589; A. M. Kenaday, *et al.*, "Petition to the Legislature, 1862," in Petitions to the Legislature File, State Archives, Sacramento; Eaves, *History of Labor Legislation*, pp. 229-236, 244-260.

5. 1911 Stats. 1268; 1915 Stats. 299 *BLS Report*, 1914 (Sacramento, 1915), pp. 14-17; *ibid.*, 1916 (Sacramento, 1917), p. 19; Hichborn, *Story*, *1911*, pp. 232-234; *Labor Clarion*, August 27, 1915, p. 7; 37 Cal. App. 370; 40 Cal. App. 700; for Mechanic's liens, see 1911 Stats. 1313; 1919 Stats. 497; 1927 Stats. 847; *BLS Report*, 1926 (Sacramento, 1927), pp. 30, 61-63; *ibid.*, 1928 (Sacramento, 1929), p. 33.

6. 1913 Stats. 632; National Consumer's League, *Report*, 1910 (New York, 1911), p. 21; *ibid.*, 1911 (New York, 1912), pp. 215, 331; Katherine Edson, *Statement to the Women's Organizations of California on the Present Status of Minimum Wage Legislation in this and other States* (San Francisco, 1922), pp. 1-3; California, Senate, *Journal*, 1913 (Sacramento, 1914), p. 992; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, March 5, April 2, 1913; for the comments of Gompers see *Labor Clarion*, February 21, 1913; Norris C. Hundley, Jr., "Katherine Philips Edson and the Fight for the California Minimum Wage, 1912-1923," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIX (August, 1960), pp. 271-285; San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 13, 15, 16, 1913.

7. See Roland M. Miller, "California's Reasonable Minimum Wage," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX (July, 1927), p. 42; California, Industrial Welfare Commission, *Report*, 1913 (Sacramento, 1915), pp. 11-23, 29-98, and *ibid.*, 1915 (Sacramento, 1917) p. 17; see also, in addition, the *Labor Clarion*, September 20, 1918; 261 U. S. 525; Barbara N. Armstrong, "Persons and Industrial Law," *California Law Review*, XVIII (March, 1930), p. 267.

8. 1858 Stats. 134; San Francisco *Bulletin*, January 15, 1870; *Coast Seaman's Journal*, December 12, 1888; California, Senate, *Journal*, 1889 (Sacramento, 1889), p. 121; 1889 Stats. 4; 1901 Stats. 631.

9. *BLS Report*, 1903 (Sacramento, 1904), pp. 40-45.

10. 1905 Stats. 12; 1909 Stats. 391, 978; *BLS Report*, 1916, 23; *ibid.*, 1918 (Sacramento, 1919), pp. 26-27; California State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1910 (San Francisco, 1911), p. 28; Franklin Hichborn, *The Story of the Legislature of 1915* (San Francisco, 1916), pp. 174-178; Mrs. Bert Schlesinger, "What California Did in 1919 for Child Protection," *The American Child*, I (August, 1919), p. 147; *BLS Report*, 1924 (Sacramento, 1926), pp. 89-120; *ibid.*, 1928 (Sacramento, 1929), pp. 29-51; 1925 Stats. 293; Emma Duke, "California, the Golden," *The American Child*, II (November, 1920), pp. 233-256; 1925 Stats. 273, 293.

11. See Report of Immigration Commissioner to Governor Hiram Johnson, March 1, 1913, in Simon J. Lubin Collection, MSS in Bancroft Library, University of California; 1909 Stats. 151; 1913 Stats. 86, 144; 1915 Stats. 815; 1917 Stats. 1518. The Division of Immigration and Housing was created in 1914 in anticipation of a flood of newcomers with the opening of the Panama Canal. 1913 Stats. 608; see also U.S. Works Projects Administration, Northern California Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the State Archives of California, Division of Immigration and Housing* (San Francisco, 1941), pp. 4-40; California, Commission of Immigration and Housing, *Report*, 1914 (Sacramento, 1915), pp. 18, 21-51; *BLS Report*, 1912 (Sacramento, 1913), pp. 14-15; California, State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1911 (San Francisco, 1912), p. 28.

12. Eaves, *History of Labor Legislation*, pp. 261-274, 282-286; Sacramento *Record-Union*, February 6, 13, 20, 1903; 1907 Stats. 119.

13. 1907 Stats. 119; 1911 Stats. 796; 1913 Stats. 279; California, State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1910 (San Francisco, 1911), pp. 27-28, 79-80, and *ibid.*, 1913 (San Francisco, 1914), p. 93; California, Assembly, *Journal*, 1913 (Sacramento, 1914), pp. 114, 553; see also Thomas I. Parkinson, "Problems and Progress of Workmen's Compensation Legislation," *American Labor Legislation Review*, I (January, 1911), pp. 55-56; Ira B. Cross, "Workmen's Compensation in California," *American Economic Review*, IV (June, 1914), pp. 454-457; Hichborn, *Story, 1911*, pp. 236-245, and Franklin Hichborn, *The Story of the Legislature of 1913* (San Francisco, 1914), pp. 128, 347; *Labor Clarion*, February 17, 1911, p. 8; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, August 16, 1911, p. 6; May 21, 1913, p. 8; quotation is from Aetna Life Insurance Company, Western Branch, "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation in California" [San Francisco, 1911], pp. 7-8, as quoted in Earl C. Crockett, "The History of California Labor Legislation, 1910-1930" (Ph. D. dissertation, Economics, University of California, 1931), pp. 123-124; see also Commonwealth Club of California, "Employers' Liability," in *Transactions*, VI (San Francisco, 1912); A. J. Pillsbury, "An Adventure in State Insurance," *American Economic Review*, IX (Dec., 1919), pp. 681-686.

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15. 1861 Stats. 412; J. E. Conner, *Free Public Employment Offices in the United States*, in U. S. Department of Labor, *Bulletin #68* (Washington, 1907), pp. 6-12; Eaves, *History of Labor Legislation*, pp. 335-350; for a list of reports concerning the Labor Exchange between 1868 and 1870 found in the San Francisco *Alta* see Eaves, *History of Labor Legislation*, pp. 338-339; see also "Evidence Taken before the Senate Committee on Labor and Capital Upon Fraudulent Practices of Employment Agencies," in California, Legislature, *Appendices*, 29 sess. (Sacramento, 1895), p. 11; *BLS Report*, 1899 (Sacramento, 1900), p. 74, and *ibid.*, 1895-1897, pp. 8, 54-68; 1903 Stats. 14-16.

16. *BLS Report*, 1908 (Sacramento, 1909), pp. 148-150; California State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings*, 1913 (San Francisco, 1914), p. 95; *ibid.*, 1917 (San Francisco, 1918), p. 104; *ibid.*, 1919 (San Francisco, 1920), p. 121; *ibid.*, 1922 (San Francisco, 1923), p. 71; *Labor Clarion*, June 2, 1916, February 16, 1917; September 1, 1922.

17. *BLS Report*, 1910 (Sacramento, 1911), pp. 39-41; *ibid.*, 1914 (Sacramento, 1915), p. 19; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, January 20, 1915, p. 7; *Labor Clarion*, September 1, 1916; Crockett, "History of California Labor Legislation,," pp. 231-256; California, Division of State Employment Agencies, *Report*, 1927 (Sacramento), pp. 3-15.

New Books

Citizen Hearst. By W. A. Swanberg. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961. 555 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Joseph Boskin.

On May 8, 1962, the trustees of Columbia University startled the literary world by rejecting the Pulitzer Prize Committees' recommendation for the area of biography, the first such move by the trustees in forty-six years of competition. Thus no award for biographical study was made. The work which so provoked the members of the board was W. A. Swanberg's *Citizen Hearst*, a superb biography about the enigmatic William Randolph Hearst. No reason was given for this unusual action; however one can surmise that rejection was based not on Swanberg's presentation or analysis of the subject, but on the subject himself.

Born in San Francisco in 1863, William Randolph was the only child of George Hearst and Phoebe Apperson. His father, a coarse albeit extremely affable, energetic individual who amassed a fortune in mining and real estate, eventually became a popular but ineffectual U. S. Senator from California. Hearst's rearing was dominated, however, by his mother, by contrast a quiet, kindly, cultured, possessive person who showered her only child with excessive maternalistic affection, catered to his every whim, and avoided the irksome discharge of discipline. As a child Hearst was shy but imaginative; he took great delight in outwitting the adult world and in seeking ways to satisfy his pleasures and demands. As an adult he was a complex, contradictory, self-aggrandizing individual—and buttressed by his father's wealth, he moved with impunity.

Swanberg's portrayal of the mature Hearst is a striking study in contrasts. Hearst remained a reticent person, yet was driven by an insatiable urge for power; he was as capable of great generosity towards his few friends and employees as he was of viciousness towards his enemies; he was concerned with the underprivileged of society, yet spent many millions on art objects, much of which lay unopened in several huge warehouses, and purchased upwards of seven "palaces" including five castles; he was a strict moralist (he refused his guests more than one cocktail at dinner) but had open relations with several women; he was an advocate of progressive programs, yet this was due to humanitarian whims rather than basic philosophy; he had the power to mould public opinion through his powerful newspaper empire (at its zenith the chain included twenty-two dailies, fifteen Sunday papers, nine magazines), yet Hearst was unabashedly unconcerned with accuracy objectivity. These apparent extremes have led Swanberg to conclude that Hearst "*was* two men, to such an extent that he rightly should have been equipped with two bodies . . . he lacked the psychic brakes that hold normal persons within reasonable limits of behavior . . ." (357). Consequently, Swanberg balanced every shortcoming with a virtue, every weakness with a strength, and summarized his study with not one but two obituaries.

These aspects of Hearst, the man and the multi-faceted career, are incisively and intelligently analyzed by Mr. Swanberg; the book offers a valuable exploration of Hearst's political career and influence in California, New York, and on the national scene. However, the work is not without its shortcomings. Clearly, the author is obsessed by the riddle of Hearst's personality. Not enough attention is given to the "change" in Hearst's political attitudes from progressivism to conservatism, i.e., the intense Americanism, the isolationism, the anti-liberal and communist crusades from the 1930's-50's. Swanberg appears to be unaware that these traits were an integral part of his progressive leanings. Moreover, in his attempt at impartiality, Hearst sometimes emerges unscathed. Thus the famous "Red Baiting" episodes in the 1930's, which the author acknowledges were unethical in tone and technique, are made partially justifiable because "There was indeed a leftward trend of thinking, an extreme-liberal reaction after the Coolidge and Hoover regimes . . ." (470). One might ask, was the New Deal program an "extreme-liberal" reaction? Similarly, Swanberg's last point on this subject is an amazing one: "He deserves credit for being the first influential citizen to recognize the danger (of Communism) even if there is no excusing his method of attack" (471).

Finally there is the matter of citizen Hearst's place in history. Few would deny his impact on American journalism, politics, and public opinion. Yet one might question the title "citizen." In the Aristotelian definition a citizen was one who is ruler and is ruled—who creates and lives according to the laws of the community—and for the common good. Hearst, however, accepted only half of this definition. He refused to be ruled, desiring instead to make his own pathway, his own stamp, regardless of the traditions and concepts of a democratic society. As Swanberg has noted in this excellent biography, Hearst could not abide by majority decisions if they were not also his own. Had he been able to, he might have been a powerful force in history.

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Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity from Hutchings' California Magazine, 1856-1861. Edited by Roger R. Olmsted. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1962. 413 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Lawrence B. de Graaf.

In this collection of illustrated articles Mr. Olmsted has revived a unique but little-known periodical of the Gold Rush. Carefully duplicating the format he gives the reader the impression of having the original magazine. He brings back scenes of settled and unsettled areas of California and offers insights into the civilization of the gold era. The result is an enjoyable addition to a shelf of light reading or a collection of Californiana. However, it is a questionable selection for historical research or analysis of the period.

This limitation was in large part the will of James M. Hutchings. Dedicating the magazine to "the side of virtue, morality, religion, and progress," he published a series of moralistic editorials, folksy dialogues, and romantic fiction, most of which Mr. Olmsted has wisely omitted. Hutchings' illustrated articles were predominantly descriptions of trips to natural scenes, of wildlife, or, less commonly, of society in California. His vow to exclude anything "partizan or sectarian" made comment on political, social, and economic issues rare. Such a restricted subject matter and narrow philosophy make it difficult to agree with Mr. Olmsted's evaluation of this magazine as ranking with *Harper's* in its time.

However, the selections of the editor have further limited the subject matter and utility of this book. In concentrating on illustrated articles he has accentuated the travelogue characteristics of the magazine and eliminated such outstanding pieces as John Hittell's "Mexican Land Claims in California" and other writings later printed in *Resources of California.* He has carried the tendency to avoid controversial subjects to the point of omitting the articles on the Chinese. While these may have racist overtones to a contemporary reader, they afford excellent insight into popular thinking of the time. The section on "Outings and Observations" contains an excess of personal tours through northern California; some might well have been deleted in favor of editorials on more significant subjects in other sections of the book. A final omission was any mention, in listing Hutchings' writings, of his *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California*, a noteworthy complement to the work under review and one to which Mr. Olmsted would seem to be indebted.

These basic shortcomings are particularly regrettable in view of other fine features of this book. Articles on mining operations and on coinage and postal services in San Francisco add considerably to an understanding of life in the Gold Rush period. Illustrations by Charles Nahl and others provide invaluable pictures of occupations, machinery, and architecture. Both illustrations and articles are carefully indexed. The fourth section gives the reader a sample of most features of *Hutchings' Magazine* and an interesting introduction to an aspect of California's journalism. For the casual reader desiring a glimpse of the Golden State in the 1850's this book should be very fascinating.

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John Doble's Journal and Letters from the Mines—Mokelumne Hill, Jackson, Volcano, and San Francisco—1851-1865. Edited by Charles L. Camp. (Denver, The Old West Publishing Company, 1962. 304 pp. $22.50.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

John Doble, who left Indiana for California in 1851, was typical of the thousands of young men who joined in the Gold Rush except for the fact that he put it down in writing. Hence this journal—with its intimate and invaluable record of a man who—like countless of his co-miners—helped pollute California's streams, wreck the canyonsides, and destroy the Indian way of life while hunting for the elusive gold.

Gold Rush pioneers have been overglamorized by romantic writers and by descendants of pioneers. Doble's blunt account of himself, so admirably edited by Dr. Charles L. Camp and so beautifully designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy, is a helpful counteractive.

What impelled bachelor and ex-blacksmith John Doble to write his daily story by candle light after a day of hard digging? The answer is not at hand. At any rate we today are Doble's beneficiaries. He has left us a "genuine grass roots diary," to use the editor's phrase, a vivid and detailed account of life in a busy segment of the Mother Lode as viewed by a pick-and-shovel miner.

What John Doble did each day, how much he made, the cost of tools, food, clothing, liquor, occasions of getting drunk, the oddballs about him, the coming of a circus, vigilantes, friends, murderers, the strange ways of Indians trying to live their lives amid the hullabaloo, dancehalls, having a phrenological examination—all such are in this magnificent re-creation of goldmining days.

Sample entries:

"Picked around among the rocks today and got nothing . . . Played Poker at Curries all night lost 40.00 . . . we arrived at Valcano about dark and stopped at Jim Dolans Gambling Saloon where we slept on the floor and got our meals at a Hotel for which we paid one dollar a meal . . . We built a damn & dug a ditch . . . the Mats at the Tavern are infested by innumerable Vermin . . . The preacher was an elderly Man & preached a good sermon against Gambling Drinking fighting etc. . . . I commenced chewing tobacco again today . . ."

Happily Dr. Camp has not tampered with Doble's spelling. Fortunately, too, he does not interrupt the flow of the prose by inserting *sic*, a word dear to the heart of most academicians. Instead, this able historian, educator, paleontologist, and author supplements the text, adds biographical data, presents a series of later letters from Doble, and prepares several valuable maps built up with diary information.

W. W. Robinson, a fellow and trustee of the California Historical Society, is also a director of the Historical Society of Southern California. A foremost authority on California history, Mr. Robinson is the author of *Lawyers of Los Angeles, Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo, Land in California, Ranchos Become Cities,* and of numerous articles and booklets.

The Indian Traders. By Frank McNitt. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 393 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Robert W. Mardock.

In the history of the Western Frontier the Indian traders have received little recognition of their importance or worth, either to the Indians or to their country. Not as romantic or as colorful as the mountain men or the cowboys, seldom involved in heroic deeds, the traders were generally unpromising material for writers. Not only has Frank McNitt ably corrected this omission but has convincingly demolished the popularly held stereotype of the post-Civil War Indian trader. The fictionalized characterization as a "money-grabbing, gun- and whisky-selling rascal" is revealed as a generalization that is as "silly and untrue as Uncle Tom." Not that all were paragons of virtue, but really dishonest and corrupt traders were few. The consequences of selling firewater and firearms were too dangerous, and a cheater could not fool the Indians long enough to realize much of a profit from his unscrupulous methods. In contrast, the successful trader needed both personal courage and integrity. On occasion he might be required to be a doctor, a banker, or a father confessor, or even an interpreter of Indian policy. Failure in such functions often meant failure as a trader.

McNitt's villains are the Indian agents—the incompetent, corrupt ones whose misguided selfish schemes complicated the life of trader and customer alike. Traders frequently became involved in the resulting disputes, usually as a middleman, attempting to explain agency policy on the one hand, or to defend hostile Indian reaction on the other. Missteps or poor judgment could mean loss of business or even life itself, though few traders were killed in the Southwest until the early 1900's. Then with the increase in Indian consumption of liquor, there was a corresponding rise in the robbery and murder of Indian traders. But as McNitt points out, the possibility of sudden, violent death was a calculated part of a trader's life.

A few of the more favored traders attained renown as hosts or guides for adventurous European royalty or American statesmen and scientists. Some played a key role in the development of the Navaho rug industry, the resulting improvement in quality and marketing techniques of mutual benefit to Navaho and trader. More important, it was the traders who helped the Indians to "recover and start out in a new direction" after being beaten into submission by the military.

McNitt's book is not a general history of the Western Indian traders despite three chapters on pre-Civil War trading activities in the Southwest. The author's primary concern is with the Ute, Apache, and Navaho country of northern Arizona and New Mexico. The result is a thorough study of the individual lives and operations of a score or more traders of this region. It is based on a commendable job of research, including personal interviews with surviving traders or their descendants and rugged jaunts to the ghostly remains of old trading posts.

By World War I the "days of the horse and the old-time Indian trader were nearing an end—both were in their last race," which proved to be nearly a dead heat. New roads and automobiles imposed a new order that in time bypassed the old trader or reduced him to a dispenser of gasoline and souvenirs. By the 1930's the few remaining old log and adobe posts catering exclusively to the needs of local Indians were anachronisms, vestiges of a fast disappearing frontier era.

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The Admission of the 31st State by the 31st Congress: An Annotated Bibliography of the Congressional Speeches upon the Admission of California. By Robert G. Cowan. (Los Angeles, privately printed, 1962. 140 pp., $6.50. Available through the Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

A long-needed reference tool for all who are interested in California history, the two hundred and thirty-two speeches, carefully annotated by Cowan, present a singular picture of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Congresses for 1848-1850.

The topic of admission of California to the Union was not the only one discussed in these debates, for throughout the speeches ran prophetic forebodings concerning slavery. Pennsylvania's David Wilmot, in his speech of July 24, gloomily forecasted: "I look forward to some day—remote it may be—when the South in its own way, and by its own voluntary action will set about the great work of emancipation . . . That day must come, or there will come a night of terror and blood."

Interesting is the observation of another Pennsylvanian, one Thomas Ross, who did not favor the admission of California. His objections were based upon what today is now a major problem facing California, overpopulation. Ross stated that "her size; harbors, and the advantage of far eastern trade and her immense mineral wealth would induce a dense population." This was indeed a prophetic statement, since in 1850 California's population stood at approximately 125,000.

Surprisingly, some Southerners were strongly in favor of statehood for California, two notable advocates being Senators from Louisiana and Kentucky. Humphrey Marshall, the Senator from Kentucky, urged in an ornately picturesque speech, typical of his day, that California be admitted under her submitted constitution, "dressed in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold, the young queen of the Pacific."

Of particular attraction for students of Western and California political science will be the contrasting thoughts voiced in the speeches of Volney E. Howard, when acting as Representative for Texas. In his speech of June 11, 1850, he opposed the admission of California; yet by 1853 he had arrived in southern California to take a more than active part in its judicial and political affairs. Volney later became judge of the superior court of Los Angeles County, served on the state constitutional convention of 1879, became a founder-member of the Los Angeles Bar Association, and one of its most reliable attorneys.

These various speeches brought together in one volume present quite clearly the attitudes of the various Congressmen toward the federal government, their interpretations of the Constitution, as well as their ideas concerning California, New Mexico, Deseret, and the Wilmot Proviso. The major problem, slavery, constantly hovered in the background, proving the crux of the debates and serving as a stumbling block to the less complicated decision to admit California as a free state.

An exceptional bibliography, Cowan's work presents the unusual backdrop of national sentiment beginning to build up within the nation regarding not only admission of California and of other territories, but also the prime concern of the country—the pros and cons on the question of slavery within the Union.

Mr. Cowan's work will prove a most valuable source book and a rich guide for those intrigued by political and historical attitudes covering both the admission to statehood for California and the national picture of the years 1848-1850.

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Great Surveys of the American West. By Richard A. Bartlett. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 408 pp. $7.95.) Reviewed by Thomas G. Manning.

The title means four scientific surveys which operated west of the one hundredth meridian after 1865. Three of these surveys were directed by civilian geologists (Hayden, King, and Powell); the fourth by Lieutenant Wheeler, topographical engineer of the U. S. Army. The author tells us who the four leaders were (sometimes to wearisome lengths), where they and their followers went, and what was seen and experienced. His narrative describes outdoor life, adventure, and hardship in the Rocky Mountain region, on the Colorado River, and westward to the Great Basin. Professor Bartlett's contribution to this kind of Western history is not substantial, because the biographers of King and Powell have preceded him. Through half of the book he regurgitates familiar material. On Wheeler he has new sources—and writes much less!

This book should have been more than a travelogue, fresh or stale, for there was serious, professional activity to investigate—the science of the four surveys. But knowledgeable description and analysis are missing, for the most part. Many statements about geology, the paramount science, say nothing. A student of the Henry Mountains in Utah "asked the eternal questions of why and when and speculated upon various possibilities." On the Colorado plateau there were great bluffs "revealing nakedly their private geologic lives." During the first season of the King survey in Nevada, "clues to the great geologic mysteries began to fit into place like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle." Judgments are not informed with twentieth-century research. *Systematic Geology*, by Clarence King, is called a classic "to this day," when for decades field geologists have ignored its findings or overturned them easily. In the Henry Mountains the larger peaks are no longer classified as laccoliths (igneous rock intruded between sedimentary beds); instead, these peaks are thought to be the product of other igneous bodies without any known floor, called stocks. There are laccoliths in the Henry Mountains, but they seem to be smaller masses, formed as tongue-like emanations from stocks. Nor do modern geologists agree with Powell's statement, which is made so much of here, that the Green River cut through the Uinta Mountains in northwestern Colorado, as they were lifted up. It is now believed that the drainage of this river was superposed or let down upon a pre-existing mountain structure.

By neglecting science, the author also threw away an opportunity to unify his survey histories, which are so discrete that it makes little difference in what order they are read. A comparative approach would have helped integrate the separate stories. The four surveys occupied several fields of knowledge in common, yet each organization offered a unique combination of the sciences, and the broader, politico-economic goals were different. Another useful theme was the political convergence of the surveys. They were rivals, and this rivalry inspired a consolidation movement, which reached a climax in 1879 with the founding of the U. S. Geological Survey and the elimination of the four independent organizations. Although the author does not attempt this story, he is rash enough to generalize about it. Contrary to what he says, Hayden did not lose out in the consolidation struggle because of poor science, and Powell was not the leader of the unification movement.

I cannot recommend this book either as a story of Western travel or as a study of Western science.

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Book Notices

By Anna Marie *and* Everett Gordon Hager

Negro Frontiersman: The Western Memoirs of Henry O. Flipper, First Negro Graduate of West Point (El Paso, Texas Western College Press, 1963. 54 pp. $3.00 paper), designed and printed by Carl Hertzog, is rich as a first-hand account of service in the Far West of a Negro West Pointer. Flipper served through the Indian wars from 1878 to 1882, including the campaign against the Apache chieftain, Victorio. After leaving the Army, he saw some thirty-seven years experience as a civil and mining engineer on the mining frontiers of the Southwest and Mexico. Unusual is the section devoted to Flipper's research on the Tayopa mine legend, which eventually brought about his employment with Albert B. Fall. Flipper's articles in *Old Santa Fe,* the forerunner of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, earned high praise for his discerning eye and accuracy. His descriptions of frontier conditions and reactions to them are enhanced for the modern reader because they are filtered through the mind and emotions of a gifted and sensitive Negro. This printing of Flipper's letters to a trusted and beloved friend will become a valued part in any collection on Southwestern material.

The appearance of *Mineral King Guide,* authored by Pat Adler and illustrated by Ruth Daly (1963. 36 pp. $1.00. Available from Dawson's Book Shop), marks another fine brochure to come from the La Siesta Press in Glendale, California. Covering the history, ecology, geology, trails and trips, and facilities available, this material will add to the pleasure of the amateur or professional mountaineer. Well illustrated with informative maps and bibliography, it will do much to entice the reader or hiker to become better acquainted with this enchanting Sierra sanctuary.

Another valued asset to the mountaineer's rucksack library will prove to be Russ Leadabrand's *A Guidebook to the San Gabriel Mountains of California* (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1963. 103 pp. $1.50). Leadabrand, columnist and contributor to Western newspapers and journals, has explored and knows the Angeles National Forest and the recreational area of the San Gabriel range. Not only for those eager to explore on foot but for the automotive highway traveler, this brochure will prove invaluable in ferreting out little known wayside spots of beauty and enchantment still to be found and enjoyed in the San Gabriel Mountains.

A find in the paper-covered brochures is a well illustrated and informative history, *The Catalina Story*, by Alma Overholt (Catalina Island, Catalina Island Museum Society, Inc., 1962. 96 pp. $3.95). Not since Judge Ernest Windle's comprehensive paperback histories, issued in 1931 and 1940, has an attempt been made to bring this material up to date. The Catalina Island Museum Society compiled and edited the material in capsule form in order to acquaint the visitor and resident alike with the "Magic Isle," which is the only island of the group of eight off the coast of Southern California that is accessible and available to the public.

Nelson Klose, associate professor of history at San Jose State College, has authored a concise, factual account of California's history and government for students and newcomers in *California: Basic History and Government* (San Francisco, Ken-Books, 1963. 130 pp. $2.50). Containing outline maps, a chronological table spanning 1492 to 1962, bibliography, and index, it serves as a ready reference tool for an abbreviated introduction to the state's history, bringing attention to the essential and significant facts of prime historical significance.

Leroy L. Doig, author of *The Village of Garden Grove, 1870-1905* (Santa Ana, Pioneer Press, 1962. 136 pp. $5.00), has performed a great service to his community. Bringing together the ephemeral pieces of local history—photographs, newspapers, written and oral memoirs—can at times present an almost insurmountable problem. Doig, with the generous assistance and interested support from local townspeople, has been successful in compiling a readable and enlightening history of this Southern California village located in Orange County. His work will add immeasurably to the work now in progress of a master history of the various townships of that county. His efforts will be valued, and will answer a long-neglected need of students, teachers, and researchers.

The American Association for State and Local History has compiled and brought up to date, through the efforts of several interested persons, a revised *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada* (Madison, Wisconsin, n.p., 1963. 126 pp. $3.00 yearly membership in the association). The most notable improvement is the listing of historical organizations by town within the state, the geographical entries facilitating the search for one's own particular group. Including the volunteer organizations, it is interesting to note that eighty-six historical organizations are listed within the state of California. The *Directory* will prove a long-needed tool for the ever-pressed secretary of such organizations, whether large or small, who have need of contacting various groups outside their own immediate locality.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Michael Mathes

BOOKS

Aldrich, John H. *Southland Weather Handbook.* Los Angeles, Brewster, 1963. $2.00

Benet, J. *Guide to San Francisco.* New York, Random House, 1963. $5.95

Dellenbaugh, Frederick Samuel. *The Romance of the Colorado River.* Chicago, Rio Grande Press, 1963. $6.00

Demarest, D. *Story of Fray Junípero Serra.* New York, Hawthorn Books, 1963. $2.95

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Godwin, J. *Alcatraz.* New York, Doubleday, 1963. $4.50

Gordon, Mitchell. *Sick Cities.* New York, Macmillan, 1963. $8.00

Harmer, Ruth Mulvey. *The High Cost of Dying.* New York, Crowell-Collier, 1963. $3.95

Hyink, Bernard L., *et al. Politics and Government in California.* New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1963. $2.95

Johnston, Hank. *Short Line to Paradise.* San Mateo, California, The Western Railroader, 1963. $4.50

Leadabrand, R. *Guide to the San Gabriel Mountains of California.* Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1963. $1.50

Ledyard, John. *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage.* Chicago, Quadrangle, 1963. $6.50

Lesure, T. B. *All about California.* Green Lawn, New York, Harian Publications, 1963. $2.00

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Mobile Travel Guide: California and the West. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1963. $1.50

Munz, Philip Alexander. *California Mountain Wildflowers.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $2.95

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Ray, V. F. *Modoc Indians of Northern California.* Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963. $6.75

Rink, P. *A. P. Giannini.* New York, Encyclopaedia Britannica Press, 1963. $2.95

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Storer, Tracy Irwin. *Sierra Nevada Natural History.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $4.95

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Sunset. *Gold Rush Country.* Menlo Park, California, Lane, 1963. $1.95

Swett, Ira L. *Los Angeles Railway's Pre-Huntington Cars, 1890-1902.* Los Angeles, Interurbans, 1962. $2.00

Swisher, C. B. *Stephen J. Field.* Hamden, Connecticut, Shoe String Press, 1963. $12.00

Turner, George. *Slim Rails Through The Sand.* San Mateo, California, The Western Railroader, 1963. $6.95

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Bryan, Bruce. "Southwest Museum Excavations on San Clemente Island," *Masterkey,* XXXVII (April-June, 1963).

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Shochat, Fern Dawson. "The Voluntary Cooperative Association of Los Angeles, 1913-1922," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLV (June, 1963).

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STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA

The roots of Standard Oil Company of California trace back to the state's first commercial oil wells. In 1876, the California Star Oil Works Company was incorporated to produce, refine, and market kerosene, axle grease, and other products from those early wells in Pico Canyon.

Today's company dates its direct corporate history from September 9, 1879, when the Pacific Coast Oil Company was organized to take over the operations of California Star. Meanwhile, the Standard name came to the Far West in 1878 when the original Standard Oil Company set up a marketing agency in San Francisco. Gradually these two interests grew closer together, Standard marketing most of the refined products from Pacific Coast. This working arrangement culminated in 1906 with a merger. In 1911, Standard of California was legally separated from other units of the old Standard Oil Company, and in 1926 the present corporate name was adopted.

The company grew up on the Pacific Coast to become one of the world's half-dozen largest oil companies, and it still reflects the strong competitive drive and the tendency to look ahead that are a recognized part of the Western spirit. Today, from its headquarters in San Francisco, Standard of California directs the production and distribution of oil and chemical products across the United States and in more than 100 nations girdling the Free World.

MILLER & LUX INCORPORATED

Miller & Lux Incorporated is the outgrowth of a partnership Henry Miller and Charles Lux formed in San Francisco in 1858. Both partners were of German descent; Miller arrived in San Francisco in 1850; Lux had arrived shortly before; and by 1858 they were two of the town's leading butchers.

This partnership flourished for over thirty years with Lux managing financial affairs in the city, and Miller buying and developing land and building up huge herds of cattle in California's San Joaquin Valley, in Oregon, Nevada, and elsewhere. Lux died in 1887, and subsequently Miller acquired his interest and continued to expand the business until his death in 1916.

At its peak, Miller & Lux owned over a million acres of land spread over five states, over a million head of livestock, two banks, a large packing plant, plus numerous water companies. Among Henry Miller's great contributions to California's agricultural economy were development of beef cattle as we know them today from the original, scrawny Mexican "longhorns"; and his pioneering in flood control and irrigation practices, including the construction of reservoirs and canals, most of which are still in use.

After Miller's death, the company suffered financial reverses which necessitated liquidation of most of its holdings.

Today the company owns and operates land in Merced, Fresno, and Kern counties, and is engaged in diversified farming, engineering, and investment management.

CALIFORNIA-WESTERN STATES LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

In December of 1910 California State Life Insurance Company was chartered, with headquarters in Sacramento. A prominent Sacramento land owner and state senator, Marshall Diggs, was the leading figure in organizing the new company and was elected its first president.

The new company enjoyed a vigorous growth from the beginning. In 1931, California State Life purchased Western States Life—a life company of almost equal size with headquarters in San Francisco—and the firm's name was changed to California-Western States Life. Headquarters were maintained in Sacramento and many of the operating personnel of Western States Life moved to Sacramento.

Though financially sound, sales were slow for the newly constituted company in the early depression years. In 1934 a dynamic insurance executive, O. J. Lacy, was brought in from a large Midwestern company and elected president—and under his leadership company growth was resumed. By 1948 Cal-Western Life had reached its first half-billion dollars of insurance in force. In 1954 Mr. Lacy was elected chairman of the board and under the leadership of his young successor, Robert E. Murphy, the company continued to grow, reaching its first billion dollars in protection in force later that year.

Today, Cal-Western Life ranks within the top 3% of all life companies in point of size, and has more than $3.6 billion of insurance in force.

PACIFIC TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Telephone service was nonexistent in California ninety years ago. Today, Pacific Telephone handles an average of 27 million calls in one day.

Mining and shipping companies were first to recognize the potentialities of the telephone in California. The instrument was introduced on the Pacific Coast in 1877, one year after its invention by Alexander Graham Bell.

By 1881, interconnecting telephone exchanges had been opened in six cities, from Portland, Oregon, to San Diego. A significant development in telephone advance occurred with the establishment of the Sunset Telephone-Telegraph Company in 1883. Absorbing several small companies, the Sunset organization constructed and operated the first long distance lines on the Pacific Coast.

Ensuing years saw the formation of additional telephone companies. The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company was incorporated in 1906, acquiring rights and leasing property from the old Pacific States and Sunset companies. Its telephone service was extended to California, as well as the Pacific Northwest, Nevada, and Arizona.

Recent formation of a separate Bell System company in Oregon and Washington have now centered Pacific Telephone's activities in California and Nevada. The company serves over 7 million telephones in these two states, employs 68 thousand men and women, and adds over $1 billion to California's economy.

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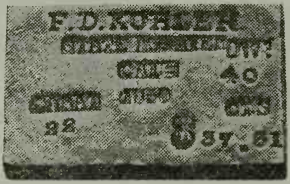

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By Robert E. Hennings

The Diet of the Mountain Men

By William E. Holston

State of California in 1856: *Federico Biesta's Report to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Translated and annotated by
Ernest S. Falbo

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James D. Phelan and the Woodrow Wilson Anti-Oriental Statement of May 3, 1912

By Robert E. Hennings

It is a little known fact that during the Presidential primary campaign of 1912, Woodrow Wilson released a strong statement opposing Oriental immigration. What is even less known is that Wilson's statement was not his own, but was written for him by his chief California backer, James D. Phelan of San Francisco.[1] The episode is significant for two reasons: first, it reveals the strong anti-Oriental bias of the leader of the Wilson Democrats of California; second, it shows the degree to which an unauthentic expression of opinion can delude both the voters and the participants themselves.

During the month of January, 1912, the Hearst papers across the nation launched an all-out attack upon Wilson's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. For this purpose, Wilson's own writings, particularly his five-volume *History of the American People*, proved to be a mine of embarrassing utterances. None of the passages which the Hearst editors unearthed from this work was more controversial than one in which Wilson compared the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Italians in an unfavorable light with the Chinese who, he had asserted, "were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports."[2]

The effect of this invidious comparison was bound to be damaging to Wilson's prospects wherever there were large groups of recent immi-

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Robert E. Hennings, a doctoral graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, wrote his dissertation on James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California. A contributor to the *Pacific Historical Review*, Dr. Hennings is an assistant professor in history at Eastern Illinois University.

grants; but in California, where a majority of all Orientals in the country lived,[3] the apparent commendation of Asiatic labor was political dynamite. In that state, opposition to the Orientals was nearly as old as the commonwealth itself, and both major parties regularly inveighed against the Oriental menace in their state platforms. Organized labor, moreover, had long taken a decided lead in demanding complete exclusion of all Asiatics, so that for any candidate to espouse the unpopular side of the argument seemed tantamount to his losing whatever help labor might give him.[4] With the politicians preparing to open the state's first Presidential primary contest, it was apparent to Wilson's California supporters that unless they could get a retraction, their candidate might stand to lose a substantial part of his potential vote on the Oriental issue alone.

The reaction of San Francisco's former mayor, James D. Phelan, was immediate. On the day that the San Francisco *Examiner* first made the disclosure, he wired the national manager, William F. McCombs, "Has governor spoken against oriental coolie immigration. Charged here volume five history he favors same. Should declare against coolies as unassimilable and destructive to republican government and white labor. Answer."[5] McCombs replied at once that so far as he knew Wilson had made no further statement on the question.[6] This answer was undoubtedly a disappointment to Phelan, but under the press of organizing the local campaign he wrote no more about the matter except to let McCombs know that he regarded the question as "one of first importance."[7] There the matter stood until early in March when McCombs wired Phelan asking him what more the national headquarters could do for the California group.[8] This was Phelan's opportunity, and at the end of a long letter outlining the party's needs in the state he made his second plea for a statement from Wilson on the issue of Oriental immigration. To augment his stand, Phelan enunciated the stock arguments against the Orientals—arguments which he had been using, incidentally, since he first entered political life in the 1880's. "Europeans are assimilable; Chinese and Japs are not," he wrote. "This is a white man's country. If permitted, the orientals would overwhelm us as they can beat us in the industrial field, owing to their hours of work, and their lower plane of civilization. It is a question of preserving our form of government, which rests on the intelligence and patriotism of the people."[9]

In reply to this latest letter McCombs suggested that Phelan write directly to Wilson, which Phelan promptly set out to do.[10] He composed a long letter stressing in great detail the various arguments against Oriental immigration, but possibly as a result of the last illness and death of his sister, Phelan delayed mailing the letter for three weeks and not until April 20 did he have it copied and sent off with minor revisions.[11] Only six days later, scarcely time enough for a reply, he wrote McCombs that he had not heard from the Presidential candidate, but that Hearst was continuing his accusations about Wilson's favoring the Chinese. At the end of his letter Phelan offered a tangible solution. "Can you not," he asked McCombs, "get a statement from the Governor, like the enclosed, for example?" The statement was as follows:

> In the matter of Chinese and Japanese Coolie immigration, I stand for the National policy of exclusion (or restricted immigration).
>
> The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We cannot make a homo-genous population out of people who do not blend with the Caucasian race. Their lower standard of living as laborers, will crowd out the white agriculturist and is in other fields a most serious industrial menace.
>
> The success of free Democratic institutions demands of our people education, intelligence, patriotism; and the State should protect them against unjust and impossible competition. Remunerative labor is the basis of contentment. Democracy rests on the equality of the citizen.
>
> Oriental Coolieism will give us another race problem to solve and surely we have had our lesson.[12]

The arguments, the diplomatic approach, and an actual statement at hand tipped the balance. Despite Wilson's complete disregard of the immigration issue up to that time, the Phelan-written statement went out over the telegraph wires on May 3 over Wilson's name.[13]

In the days following the receipt of the wire by the Northern California Wilson organization, two of the leading San Francisco papers carried the statement in its entirety, although only one gave it any prominence.[14] A third relatively friendly paper reported that Phelan had referred to the telegram at an election rally.[15] To McCombs, Phelan reported that the wire had "made a good impression and answered Hearst just as he printed his last letter"—a reference to the fact that as late as May 7 the Hearst papers continued to single out the Oriental issue for use against Wilson.[16] The publication of the May 3 telegram finally put a halt to that argument, but the damage had already been done, for by that time the San Francisco *Examiner*, for example, had exploited Wilson's views on Asiatic immigration in at least ten issues.[17] With only a modest amount of publicity and little time, the anti-Oriental statement of the New Jersey governor did not change the impression established by the Hearst press.[18] As a result, the statement probably had little effect on the outcome of the California primary. At the May 14 election the Wilson slate of delegates to the Democratic National Convention was badly defeated by the slate pledged to Champ Clark.[19]

Here the significance of the Wilson anti-Oriental statement would have ended except for the fact that Wilson and not Clark was victorious at the Baltimore convention. As an original Wilson man Phelan was able to establish a position of control in the ensuing California contest,[20] and as a leader of the state campaign he wrote Senator Thomas P. Gore, Chairman of the Organization Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, that the national Democratic campaign book should include the candidate's telegram of May 3 on the question of Asiatic exclusion.[21] The failure of the *Democratic Text-Book of 1912*[22] to include the statement indicates that either Gore was unsuccessful or the request came too late, for Gore was sympathetic to Phelan's interest. Early in October he called Phelan's attention to that part of Theodore Roosevelt's 1906 Message to Congress in which the former President had recommended the naturalization of Japanese residents. "Use this in connection with the telegram which you received from Governor Wilson," wired Gore, although he wished the parenthetical phrase "or restricted immigration" deleted because, as he later explained, it seemed to confuse the matter.[23] Undoubtedly at Gore's suggestion, Phelan saw to it that the California state organization distributed thousands of cards on which the Wilson statement (minus the phrase objected to by Gore) appeared on one side, while on the other was printed this argument:

> Roosevelt believes the Japanese should be made citizens of the United States. In his message to the Fifty-ninth Congress he said:
>
> "I recommend to the Congress an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens."
>
> Roosevelt believes the Japanese should be allowed to overrun the lands of

California. He demanded of the State Legislature that it enact no laws denying Japanese the right to acquire title to land.

Roosevelt demanded that grown Japanese men should be allowed to mingle in the public schools with white boys and girls of tender years. When the people of San Francisco and California protested he threatened them with "all of the forces, military and civil, of the United States."

Roosevelt in his message to the Fifty-ninth Congress demanded that the American people accept the Japanese immigrants "on a basis of full and frank equality."[24]

The card was bound to have an effect upon the close election which followed because in California the Presidential fight was between T. R. and Wilson alone.[25] Coincidentally with Senator Gore's suggestion to use the Roosevelt record against the purported Wilson statement, the California supreme court ruled that the Taft electors could not appear on the ballot since the electors pledged to Roosevelt had been nominated by the regularly constituted Republican Party of the state.[26] The disqualification of the Taft men meant not only that Wilson gained considerable support from the Old Guard Republicans but also that any clear-cut difference between Wilson and Roosevelt which the Democrats could point to with favor would redound to their advantage.[27] Phelan's own analysis of the impact of the Oriental argument shows that he believed it was very valuable. After the election he wrote McCombs, "The Japanese question gave us in part the farmer's support. We used the governor's views to good advantage by widespread publicity in the labor districts, more particularly, and also in the rural communities."[28] In San Francisco, which Wilson carried by ten thousand votes, Phelan definitely ascribed the result to the efficacy of the anti-Oriental sentiment among labor. In the same letter to McCombs he wrote, "Both factions supported the ticket and urged the oriental question as their argument, very largely, with the workingmen, who responded splendidly."[29]

The opposition in the state was apparently caught off guard by the use of the old Roosevelt message which no doubt seemed indefensible against the positive stand Wilson had presumably taken.[30] The Progressives were demoralized, moreover, by the enforced absence which the attempted assassination of T. R. had imposed upon their chief California leader, Hiram Johnson, who stayed in the East during the remainder of the campaign to meet Roosevelt's speaking schedule.[31] It was not until several months after the election that Johnson discovered just what had gone on.[32] When he did, he let Roosevelt know just how serious he thought the Oriental matter was: "Mr. Wilson in his usual elegant diction presented to the voters of the State of California, his views upon the subject and during the campaign, cards literally by the thousands were distributed throughout the State of California, bearing on the one side what purported to be a statement of your position and on the other the letter of Mr. Wilson on the subject . . . To say that at least ten thousand votes were lost in this state upon this issue, I think is conservative."[33] At the time Johnson was writing he was extremely skeptical about Wilson's motives in the matter, for only two months earlier the newly inaugurated President had rushed Secretary of State Bryan out to Sacramento in an attempt to stop the California legislature from passing an anti-alien land act directed at preventing the Japanese from owning agricultural land.[34] In reply Roosevelt wrote, "If he [Wilson] was sincere in what he said before election, then his conduct after election was an outrage; if on the other hand he was sincere in what he did after the election, his conduct before election represented a peculiarly offensive and demagogic as well as insincere bid for votes. One horn or the other of the dilemma is his. . . ."[35]

While Wilson was clearly responsible for allowing the May 3 statement to appear over his name, it is unlikely that he realized just how it had been used during the general campaign. For James D. Phelan, however, the whole episode represented a deception in some form or other. Not only did he author the Wilson statement in the first place, but he accepted Senator Gore's suggestion that the party capitalize on Roosevelt's published sentiments in the matter when all the time he, Phelan, knew that Roosevelt had since changed his mind and had come to view the Orientals as a grave menace.[36] Ironically enough, Phelan himself was a great admirer of T. R. and had twice made financial contributions to his California primary campaign in 1912 despite his own connection with the Wilson organization which was hard pressed for money.[37] In the light of this background it is not surprising that in the succeeding years of the Wilson administration Phelan found little sympathy for his own anti-Oriental views.[38] Nor is it very surprising to note that before Wilson's tenure of office was out, Phelan, who became United States Senator from California in 1914, found himself at odds with the President—and not only on the issue of Oriental immigration.[39]

NOTES

1. See Arthur S. Link, *Wilson* (3 vols.; Princeton, 1947-1960), II, p. 290, n. 34, and Roy Watson Curry, *Woodrow Wilson and Far Eastern Policy, 1913-1921* (New York, 1957), pp. 44 and 140. Both Link and Curry cite the same source, *The Independent*, LXXIII (October 10, 1912), p. 863. I am indebted to Roger Daniels for his critical reading of this article while in preparation. His *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley, 1962) is the most complete and useful work on the social and political milieu which made the Wilson statement significant in California.

2. Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People* (5 vols.; New York, 1902), V, p. 213. In the same volume (p. 185) Wilson had admitted, however, that the Caucasian laborers could not compete with the Chinese. This admission seems to have had no influence upon the thinking of either Hearst or Phelan. For a view of Hearst's main lines of attack, see Link, *Wilson,* I, pp. 350, 370, 381-384.

3. The census of 1910 showed that 50.6 per cent of all Chinese and 57.3 per cent of all Japanese in the country lived in California.

4. The year 1904 was the only election year from the turn of the century through 1910 in which both parties failed to include an anti-Oriental plank. San Francisco *Chronicle,* August 24 and 27, 1904. For the background of California anti-Orientalism see Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises* (Stanford, c. 1934); Raymond Leslie Buell, "The Development of the Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States," *Political Science Quarterly,* XXXVII (December, 1922), pp. 605-638, and XXXVIII (March, 1923), pp. 57-81; Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1935); Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice;* and Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, 1939).

5. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, January 27, 1912, James Duval Phelan Papers, Bancroft Library.

6. William F. McCombs to James D. Phelan, January 27, 1912, Phelan Papers.

7. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, February 2, 1912, Phelan Papers.

8. William F. McCombs to James D. Phelan, March 6, 1912, Phelan Papers.

9. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, March 6, 1912, Phelan Papers. See James D. Phelan, "Letter on the Chinese Question," *Overland Monthly,* n.s. VII (March, 1886), p. 328f.

10. William F. McCombs to James D. Phelan, March 20, 1912; Phelan draft to Woodrow Wilson, March 29, 1912, Phelan Papers.

11. James D. Phelan to Woodrow Wilson, April 20, 1912, Phelan Papers. Phelan's sister, Mrs. Francis J. Sullivan, died April 8, 1912.

12. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, April 26, 1912, Phelan Papers. Minor corrections have been made of obviously typographical errors in the copy of the statement attached to the letter to McCombs.

13. Woodrow Wilson to James D. Phelan, May 3, 1912, Phelan Papers. See Link, *Wilson,* I, p. 337.

14. The San Francisco *Daily News* of May 4, 1912, carried the statement on the front page. The *News* was the only paper in the city supporting Wilson. When the Republican San Francisco *Call* printed the statement on May 5, 1912, it was placed inconspicuously on an inside page.

15. San Francisco *Bulletin,* May 9, 1912. What happened displays how little the statement had circulated. Former Governor Glenn of North Carolina had asserted at a Democratic campaign rally that Wilson believed in the melting pot which included both Chinese and Japanese. Phelan reportedly jumped up to "correct" Glenn by citing the May 3 telegram. San Francisco *Call,* May 9, 1912.

16. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, May 8, 1912, Phelan Papers.

17. San Francisco *Examiner,* January 27 and 28, February 3 and 15, March 14 and 17, April 6 and 13, May 5 and 7, 1912.

18. With the exception of San Diego, the situation with regard to Wilson publicity during the California primary was generally worse than it was in San Francisco. The only papers of any great value to Wilson were the five owned by Scripps: the San Diego *Sun,* Los Angeles *Record,* Sacramento *Star,* Berkeley *Independent,* and the San Francisco *Daily News.*

19. Out of 72,066 Democratic votes, only 20,199 went to the Wilson delegates. California Secretary of State, *California Blue Book or State Roster 1913-1915* (Sacramento, 1915), p. 462.

20. See James D. Phelan to William G. McAdoo, October 1, 1912, Phelan Papers.

21. James D. Phelan to Thomas P. Gore, September 3, 1912, Phelan Papers.

22. (New York: Isaac Goldmann Co., [1912]).

23. Thomas P. Gore to James D. Phelan, October 2 and 4, 1912, Phelan Papers. Gore gave what national publicity he could to the Wilson statement. See New York *American,* October 7, 1912, and Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* October 15, 1912. The *Independent,* LXXIII (October 10, 1912), p. 863, editorially condemned the Wilson statement as relayed to the press by Gore (who had, incidentally, made a slight change in wording, substituting "United" for "Remunerative" at the beginning of the third to the last sentence).

24. Franklin Hichborn, *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1913* (San Francisco, 1913), p. 213f, n. 190. For the California reaction to Roosevelt's 1906 message as well as to his other actions alluded to on the card, see Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises* and Roger Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice.*

25. Roosevelt won eleven of California's thirteen electoral votes in November; Wilson won two. The reason for the split vote was that California law then allowed Presidential electors to be voted for individually, thereby giving each one a different total vote. The two top Wilson electors defeated the two lowest Roosevelt electors by 842 and 268 votes respectively. *California Blue Book . . . 1913-1915,* pp. 284-286.

26. San Francisco *Daily News*, October 3, 1912.

27. As a result of the disqualification of the Taft electors, the following San Francisco Republican papers endorsed Wilson: *Call*, October 15, 1912; *Post*, October 23, 1912, and *Chronicle*, October 25, 1912.

28. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, November 11, 1912, Phelan Papers.

29. *Ibid.*

30. If the newspaper reports of Phelan's many speeches are any indication, the California Democrats did not attack Roosevelt's record on Oriental immigration until very near the end of the campaign. Such tactics would, of course, have given the Progressives little time to inquire into the matter. See San Bernardino *Sun*, October 31, 1912, and Chico *Record*, November 3, 1912.

31. Fremont Older to Hiram W. Johnson, November 18, 1912, Hiram Warren Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library.

32. The California journalist, Franklin Hichborn, was apparently the man who brought Johnson's attention to the matter, for immediately after the election and for some months thereafter Johnson's chief complaints about the California campaign centered on personal grounds. See Hiram W. Johnson to Francis J. Heney, November 21, 1912, and Franklin Hichborn to Johnson, June 2, 1913, Johnson Papers.

33. Hiram W. Johnson to Theodore Roosevelt, June 21, 1913, Johnson Papers.

34. For the significance of this episode see Thomas A. Bailey, "California, Japan, and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913," *Pacific Historical Review*, I (March, 1932), pp. 36-59; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 58-62; Hichborn, *Story . . . of the California Legislature of 1913*, pp. 213-274; and Link, *Wilson*, II, pp. 289-296.

35. Theodore Roosevelt to Hiram W. Johnson, June 30, 1913, Johnson Papers.

36. James D. Phelan to William F. McCombs, March 6, 1912, Phelan Papers. Many other individuals also knew of Roosevelt's opposition to Japanese immigration, but his position was not public. See Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols.; Cambridge, 1951-54), IV, p. 1168f, VII, pp. 49, 181, 254, 281, 284, 416. Roosevelt's loyal California supporter, Francis J. Heney, knew of his chief's true feelings regarding Japanese immigration, but he apparently did not hear of the Democratic attacks for his correspondence shows no indication of it. He was in the state only at the very end of the campaign. San Francisco *Bulletin*, October 28, 1912; Lincoln Steffens to Francis J. Heney, August 26, 1907, Francis Joseph Heney Papers, Bancroft Library.

37. James D. Phelan to A. L. Scott, Roosevelt Progressive League of California, April 18 and 29, 1912, Phelan Papers.

38. See James D. Phelan to Thomas P. Gore, April 5, 1913; Phelan press release, April 12, 1919, Phelan Papers; *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 11201 (July 18, 1916); San Francisco *Examiner*, March 24, 1919.

39. Four notable areas where Phelan differed with Wilson were preparedness,

immigration, Irish Home Rule, and reservations for the Versailles Treaty. See New York *Times*, November 17, 1915; New York *American*, January 19 and April 15, 1916; *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong. 2nd Sess., p. 2629 (February 4, 1917); Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era* (2 vols.; Chapel Hill, 1944-1946), II, p. 619; San Francisco *Call*, March 22, 1919; and James D. Phelan, "Reminiscences," [1928], Phelan Papers.

The Diet of the Mountain Men

By WILLIAM E. HOLSTON

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, said Frederick Jackson Turner, was "the meeting place between savagery and civilization."[1] This hypothesis can be demonstrated vividly through a study of those American fur trappers and traders who were known as the "mountain men." The average mountain man was an unwashed, unlettered, and unwanted individual. He divorced himself from civilization for most of the year, preferring the solitude of a placid beaver pond to the confines of an Eastern city. Unlike most Anglo-Americans, he was not adverse to marrying one or two Indian squaws. Similar to the Indian, he distinctly emphasized his words, gestured often, and understood sign language.[2] The trapper's diet, in particular, mirrored the Indian way of life. Both the mountain men and Indians had to live off the land. Their diet was largely meat, especially the flesh of the bison. Elk was probably second in consumption for most of the trappers.[3] Less frequently, the mountain men ate deer, bear, antelope, horses, dogs, beaver, and other small game. When food was scarce, as often happened in this hunting and gathering subsistence, the mountain men were reduced to

> eating the grease in the rifle stocks, fringes, and unnecessary parts of buckskin clothes, gun and ammunition bags, and every scrap of edible material, boiled up in an Assinaboin basket with hot stones, and finally were reduced to [eating] buds and twigs.[4]

For lack of meat during the winter months, the Indians often were reduced to a starvation point. When meat became available, the Indians were prone to gorging. The mountain men, also living precariously off the land, adopted this primitive trait of overindulgence when food was obtainable. The mountain men often spent "this month luxuriating in

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the wealth of buffalo meat, and the next reduced to the very brink of starvation."[5]

The major food of the mountain men was buffalo meat. Trappers claimed that fat buffalo meat was far superior to beef.[6] Bison were usually butchered in the Indian manner.[7] Turned on its belly, with the legs positioned on either side for support, the shaggy beast was opened down the spine. Peeling away the skin from both sides, the average white man would butcher a buffalo into about twenty pieces.[8] When game was plentiful, however, only a few choice parts were taken, and the vast bulk of the meat was left to scavengers. The small and large humps were usually taken first. Overlying the hump, and extending along the backbone to the tail, were two broad, thick strips of fat called the *depouilles*.[9] From just under the hide, the hunter took large sections of fat known as the "fleece." The fleece from a large bull might weigh as much as two hundred pounds.[10] A hatchet or tomahawk was used to chop free the hump ribs. Various other cuts of meat taken were the shoulders, the fillets or muscle underlying the shoulders, the thighs, and rump. The tongue was removed by "ripping open the skin of the lower jawbone and pulling it out through the oriface [*sic*]."[11] The heart and liver were added to the fare. A favorite appetizer was marrow from the leg bones. The bones were cracked and the marrow (about one pound to a bone) was extracted. Blood often was drained from the body cavity and saved. The testicles of a bull bison were cut from the body and were considered as choice pieces.[12] If the animal was a pregnant cow, the raw legs of the unborn calf were cut from the fetus. The udder was "held as hardly second to the tongue in delicacy."[13] Brains were removed by splitting open the skull and scooping out the bloody contents by hand.

If the trappers had enough time, they might make jerky or pemmican. Jerky was made from sun- and wind-dried strips of lean meat. Cut with the grain of the meat, the thin strips were hung to dry on cottonwood racks.[14] A slow fire, under the meat, helped to speed up the drying process. If pemmican was desired, the gristle and sinews were removed from the jerky. The dried meat was pounded into a powder, poured into a buffalo hide bag, and mixed with melted fat.[15] Dried berries were often added for flavor, and the product kept well on long trips into the Rocky Mountains.

When mountain men had been without meat for several days before slaying a buffalo, all traces of Anglo-Saxon civilization vanished instantly. Immediately, the bison's skull was hacked open, and the raw brains were wolfed down in great, bloody chunks. The blood was quaffed and usually spilled down the trapper's face, arms, and body. The liver was torn from the body cavity. Bloody and unwashed, it was seasoned with gunpowder, or by squeezing the gall bladder's contents over it, and then consumed without further preparation.[16] The gall was drunk sometimes, for "a man could get quite a glow if he took it straight on an empty stomach."[17] The greasy fleece was cut away from the ribs and eaten raw. Other strips of raw meat or fat were consumed if the group still was not satiated.

Arriving back in camp, the mountain men would build a fire from either quaking aspen, sagebrush, sunflower stalks, or dry buffalo chips. The buffalo dung was called *bois de vache*, literally, "wood from a cow."[18] It burned well and was a favorite fuel of the mountain men.

Meat, cooked by the trappers, was seldom well done. It usually was bolted down in a nearly raw condition. Meat was often cooked *en appolas*, with alternating pieces of lean meat and fat on a sharpened stick.[19] This stick was held over the fire or thrust into the ground beside the blaze. Bones were gnawed clean by the trappers and then thrown over their shoulders to the wolves. The buffalo marrow was boiled; however it sometimes was dropped into hot water, and buffalo blood was stirred into the mixture until it became a thick "soup."[20] Fats, especially the kidney fat, were popular at any meal. They were boiled briefly or eaten raw. The oily belly fat of a bison was a favorite but caused vomiting if taken in excess.

Perhaps the most unique food eaten by the mountain men were *boudins*. These were the small intestines of the bison. Cut into convenient lengths, the intestines were roasted on sticks until the heat caused them to become puffy. *Boudins* were tied sometimes to prevent the fat from leaking into the fire. The intestines quickly became distended, and little clouds of steam escaped from numerous tiny punctures.[21] When crisp, the intestines and their contents were eaten with much gusto.

George F. Ruxton describes a feast that he observed between two Canadian trappers. The men had placed several yards of the greasy, slightly roasted intestine on a dirty saddle pad which lay between them. The two trappers started eating at opposite ends of the coils. They ate as rapidly as possible toward the middle, each shouting to the other, "Feed fair!" Yards of intestine disappeared down their well-lubricated throats until one,

> overcome by the unblushing attempts of his partner to bolt a vigorous mouthful, would jerk back his head, drawing out at the same moment, by the retreating motion, several yards of boudin from his neighbor's stomach (for the greasy viand required no mastication and was bolted whole) and, snapping up the ravished portions, greedily swallowed them, to be in turn again withdrawn and subjected to a similar process by the other.[22]

Bison were incapable of traversing the high passes of the Rockies; therefore other food sources were essential. Of all the foods known to the mountain men, the flesh of the cougar or mountain lion, known as "painter meat," was said to be the best of all.[23] The meat of dogs was considered second in flavor to that of the cougar, and many early journals record the eating of dogs by trappers.

Horses were always a source of food. Charles Larpenteur, a fur trader, wrote that he could "assure the reader that horse meat makes excellent steaks."[24] Other men were not so enthused. After eating horse meat, one white man wrote that his party "belched up the old stud as strong as ever" for several days.[25] Mules were eaten also when food was gone.

Deer and elk were common food sources. Jedediah Smith described a feast on elk meat when "men could be seen in ev'ry part of the camp with meat raw and half roasted in their hands devouring it with the greatest alacrity."[26]

Bears were hunted for food and sport. George Nidever wrote, "a person who is not a good shot, cool, and cautious, and has a good rifle, has no business to hunt bears."[27] Andrew W. Sublette, a retired fur trader, fell victim to a grizzly bear while hunting near Los Angeles in 1853.[28] His case was not unusual, for many mountain men suffered death or maulings because they loved the sport of bear hunting.

Lynx meat was considered extremely good by the trappers,[29] but beaver tail was also relished. The mountain men carefully observed the type of plants or bark that the beavers were eating. The flesh from beaver, which had been feeding on wild parsnip, caused men to become violently ill.[30] Unless they were starving, the trappers ate only the tail of the beaver.

When food became scarce, both the Indians and mountain men would scrape the putrid flesh from animal corpses. One famous trapper, Thomas Fitzpatrick, in order to survive, peeled the rotting flesh from the bones of a buffalo.[31] Similarly, roasted beaver skins provided sustenance for a group of trappers. Another band divided one raven among seven men. Rufus Sage and his companions were reduced to eating a buffalo hide. The hide was boiled for twelve or fourteen hours in an effort to make it palatable. It was of "so glutenous a nature it almost cemented the teeth employed in its mastication."[32] Jedediah Smith, writing to Ralph Smith in December of 1829, remarked that he would

> go for days without eating, and am pretty well satisfied if I can gather a few roots, a few snails, or better satisfied if we can afford ourselves a piece of horse flesh, or a fine roasted dog.[33]

Most trappers were annually placed in a similar predicament, since they seldom took food of any sort along with them.

Captain Bonneville was forced to eat wolves, roots, and muskrats in order to survive.[34] Joe Meek, another mountain man, was lucky enough to find a brass pin among his trappings. Fashioning a crude hook, he replenished his food supply with fat trout from the Snake River. He did, however, admit the following: "I have held my hands in an ant hill until they were covered with the ants, then greedily licked them off. I have taken the soles off my moccasins, crisped them in the fire, and eaten them."[35] Meek also collected large, black crickets for the cooking pot. When the insects stopped kicking, they were plucked from the boiling water and eaten.

When forced by drastic circumstances, trappers existed on a diet of frogs, snakes, and insects. An Indian village in the Great Basin was invaded by trappers searching for food. The raid yielded several sacks of sun-dried ants. In another crisis, a band of hungry trappers ate small cakes that were made of crushed, dried ants.[36]

Trappers did not worry about drinking the blood of animals. One of the men with Captain Bonneville's trapping party, slit the throat of a wounded buffalo and drank the tepid blood.[37] James Ohio Pattie, famous trapper and trader, even went so far as to describe the blood of an antelope as "tasting like fresh milk."[38] Pattie also hinted that his party drank their own urine in a vain attempt to refresh parched throats.[39]

If the food situation became desperate, the mountain man might be reduced to one of mankind's most primitive dietary traits, cannibalism. Bill Williams, a mountain man who became a guide, was accused of eating some of his companions when the food supply ran out.[40] Perhaps the classic example of cannibalism was Charles Gardner, known as "Old Phil." On a trip to Fort Laramie, supplies were exhausted, but Old Phil solved the problem by eliminating his Indian companion. He amputated the legs at the hip joints and took them with him. Witnesses at Fort Laramie swore that they saw him throwing away the gnawed remnants, which Phil referred to as his "provisions." On another occasion, Gardner killed his own squaw, ate most of her, and left the remains unburied. Old Phil stated that if the human hands, head, and feet were cooked long enough, then they were as tasty as pork. The other parts of the body were "too gristly and tough."[41] Such recorded instances of cannibalism, however, are very rare.

All the months of starvation and gorging ended for the mountain men when they met for their annual rendezvous. This was a noisy, drunken gathering. Fights were frequent and there was "a constant uproar from the hoards of Indian dogs brought along for the final grand feast."[42] Indians, trappers, and traders drank diluted raw alcohol. Metheglin, a drink made from diluted raw alcohol and honey, was a favorite. Whiskey sold for five dollars a pint at the 1832 rendezvous. It was the only item which was sold for several days.[43]

Following a few days of drunken living, the trapper traded his beaver skins for such luxurious commodities as tobacco, at three dollars a pound; coffee, worth two dollars a pound; and sugar, at two dollars a pint.[44] Typical of all of the mountain men, Kit Carson remarked: "once a year, I would have a meal consisting of bread, meat, sugar, and coffee. I would consider it a luxury."[45]

After a few weeks of fighting, drinking, trading, and chasing Indian women, the mountain man was eager to leave "civilization" and return to his trap lines. His furs, the resultant product of long months of wading in icy streams, had been sold. His money had been spent on alcohol, Indian prostitutes, and gambling. He was often in debt to some trader, however he apparently did not regret his actions and enthusiastically anticipated next year's rendezvous.

The recorded, excellent health of the average mountain man has helped to disprove certain dietary theories. For many years scientists refused to believe that men could subsist on an all meat diet and remain in good health. Experiments by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, in the twentieth century, have shown this belief to be only partially true. Eating a lean meat diet will result in dietary deficiencies; however a predominantly raw, fresh meat bill of fare, supplemented with liberal quantities of fat, is one of the most healthful regimens that an individual can eat. To maintain good health, a person daily would need to eat six to eight pounds of meat.[46] Modern Americans would find the cost prohibitive. Also, most Americans would not be enthusiastic about eating almost raw meat, which was smothered in grease and chunks of fat.

All the mountain men attributed their health to meat and swore that it was "the only food" for a man. "If a man could always live on such didins," said one old trapper, "he would never die."[47]

Unfortunately for the mountain man, his heyday lasted only about twenty years. The rendezvous of 1838 and 1839 were noticeably quieter than previous years. The beaver had become scarce as competitive fur companies depleted the supply. Silk hats had replaced beaver felt in style, and the trading fort had replaced the rendezvous. The West, as the mountain man knew it, vanished with the beaver. Never again would bearded men in greasy buckskins squat around a smokeless fire and gorge on hunks of rare meat, handfuls of fat, roasted *boudins*, and raw liver, amid exortations to "Feed fair!"

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State of California in 1856

Federico Biesta's Report to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Translated and annotated by Ernest S. Falbo

Federico Biesta: An Introductory Note

When the story is written of the first Italians to settle in California after 1848, a considerable place may be occupied by Federico Biesta (1822-1894). An Italian patriot, he was a lawyer by vocation, a journalist by inclination and experience as well as a consular secretary, miner, assayer, and businessman. Biesta's life may well serve as a point of reference in tracing the story of the pioneer Italians in San Francisco in the 1850's. He very likely started the first Italian newspaper, first not only in California but west of the Mississippi as well; and since his time his adopted city, San Francisco, has boasted a continuous Italian press second in importance and influence only to New York City's. Yet, it is in his role as consular clerk and acting consul of the Kingdom of Sardinia that he has, perhaps, left his major imprint and furnished the material, however sketchy and incomplete, for a preliminary study of the Italian community in the 1850's. Only a few copies of his newspaper are extant, but his dispatches are all preserved in Italian archives and are susceptible to further consideration within a broader framework of investigation. One of his consular dispatches, "State of California in 1856," is now translated and published for the first time.

Though Biesta's ambition to become consul in the 1850's was not fulfilled, he was associated with the Sardinian consulate just as if he had

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been consul, and in this connection he was in close contact with all the leading Italians of his time. Indicating the official Sardinian interest in California was the appointment of Colonel Leonetto Cipriani as consul in 1850. A Tuscan volunteer in the Sardinian army in 1849, Cipriani had won distinction in several battles. When, in 1850, it was learned that he was embarking for California, Count Cavour, the prime minister of Sardinia, suggested that Cipriani might continue to do something for Sardinia by serving as consul.[1] Among the Sardinian subjects in California, there were known to be many Piedmontese and Genoese whose potential importance to the mother country Cavour had not overlooked. As Cipriani was a prominent figure in Italy, his departure for the new world served to focus attention on California as well as to surround the office of Sardinian consul with prestige. Finding his role expensive and frustrating since it interfered with his financial schemes, Cipriani resigned his position after less than two years as consul. Arriving in California in 1851, the same year as Cipriani, Biesta had spent six fruitless months in gold mining in Marysville before turning to Cipriani for help. As Biesta was an educated man and a Sardinian army veteran with a good record of service in 1849, he favorably impressed the social-conscious Cipriani. Apparently, Biesta continued his mining activities with Cipriani's financial assistance.[2]

In January, 1853, Cipriani turned his office over to his friend, Patrice Guillaume Dillon, the French consul, with Biesta as his clerk, responsible for all matters concerning the Sardinian residents, since Dillon did not know Italian.[3] Though the consular dispatches from San Francisco to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turin were written in French at that time and signed by Dillon, many of the letters are unmistakably the work of Biesta who must have not only prepared them but written them as well, judging from the handwriting. Dillon several times urged the Sardinian government to assign Biesta a monthly salary of 1000 francs or 200 dollars, but without success. "The citizens of his Majesty," Dillon wrote, "are many, and their influence is beginning to be felt both for this fact and for the vast sums of money at their disposal."[4] In 1857, Dillon was transferred to Port-au-Prince, leaving Biesta as acting consul of Sardinia. As an attorney, Biesta was also using his office to advance his position locally for his fellow Italians. A letter speaks of his efforts and willingness to learn American law and legal procedures to represent them more extensively.[5] Around San Francisco he was generally regarded as the "Sardinian consul" and had every reason, both by experience and popular support, to expect official confirmation of the title. Though the office brought no remuneration, it was useful in enhancing personal interests. Contrary to his expectations, the Sardinian government appointed instead an Englishman, Benjamin Davidson, agent for the Rothschild bank in San Francisco, as its consul.[6] It might be that Davidson owed his appointment as consul in part to Cavour's domestic and foreign policies for the expansion of Sardinia which were financed through loans from the Rothschild banking house in London. The Rothschilds were eager to have their agents serve as consuls, safeguarding their investments and investigating opportunities for the bank's expansion. The Italian community in California offered promise of both. Considering Davidson's appointment an injustice to himself, Biesta appealed directly to the prime minister, hopeful that the government would reconsider and revoke its decision in his favor. On May 17, 1857, Biesta's supporters among the Italians, and they included many prominent businessmen, organized a public meeting to protest Davidson's appointment. They drew up a letter and sent copies to the newspapers of San Francisco, Turin, and Genoa, to say nothing of those to the king and government of Sardinia.[7] Since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarded the public demonstration against Davidson as having been instigated by Biesta himself, it refused to change its position. A considerable part of the dispatches written by Biesta in May and June of 1857—and his reports had never been so long and detailed—must be understood as endeavors to promote his candidacy for the consulship. If his zeal availed him nothing then, his reports, whatever the motive, did serve to bring the Sardinian government's attention to the need of having a regular career consul in California.[8]

Biesta is next reported in January, 1858, as having gone to British Columbia as an assayer.[9] Apparently he returned to California in 1859 and was still an active leader in the Italian community since he was elected vice president of the Italian Mutual Benefit Society, and with such local notables as Count Cipriani, Antonio Ghirardelli, and Nicola Larco, he founded the Italian Hospital Association. With the outbreak of the Austro-Sardinian war that year, he headed the committee for a subscription for the wounded soldiers of the Italian army.[10] He is also listed as a salesman of foreign books, artists' supplies, and perfumes at 120 Montgomery Street.[11] The date March 19, 1859, is given as the first appearance of his Italian newspaper, although it is not certain whether it was the same *L'Eco della Patria* with which his name was later associated or even whether it survived its first year.[12] Credit for having founded the first Italian newspaper, however, is attributed to him in his obituary as well.[13] What is certain is that in 1859 he is listed as California's correspondent for the Italian newspaper of New York, *Eco d'Italia*, for which he reported on the California scene from the viewpoint of his Italian community. His career as a journalist and editor obviously must not have been a smooth one if he is mentioned as a "geologist and mineralogist" for an 1861 surveying party in Death Valley.[14] In 1864, according to G. B. Cerruti, then Italian consul, Biesta had returned to San Francisco after having spent "several years" in the Frazer River mining area in Canada. The letter went on to say that Cerruti and a number of wealthy Italians had arranged to pay for Biesta's debts, amounting to $800, so that he might assume the editorship of an Italian newspaper, *L'Eco della Patria*, which was to serve as official organ of the Italian colony.[15] The few copies of this newspaper available do not reveal that the life of Biesta's newspaper was made any easier by the appearance in the early seventies of a competitive Italian newspaper in San Francisco opposing his viewpoint and policies. The number of Mazzinian and republican sympathizers among the Italians, strengthened by the influx of Swiss Italians, precluded all-out support of Biesta's *L'Eco della Patria* with its strong adherence to the monarchical government of Italy. That he enjoyed, nonetheless, the respect and esteem among Italians for his intellectual accomplishments is mentioned in his obituary which described him as "somewhat irritable in disposition, but most reserved in manner," and "he counted his intimate friends by hundreds." At the time of his death in 1894, he was apparently translating telegrams for another Italian newspaper, his own having passed out of his hands.[16]

However fragmentary, the information contained in the consular reports that Biesta prepared in the 1850's is the most extensive known so far on the Italians in California at that early date. When speaking of "Italians," however, it must be pointed out that these dispatches for the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs are concerned wholly with citizens of the Kingdom of Sardinia, that is, the Piedmontese and Genoese residents in California, and of these, only those known to have been monarchists, loyal to the House of Savoy. Exception made for Leonetto Cipriani, all other Italians but non-Sardinian citizens, be they Tuscan or Roman or Neopolitan, were not mentioned in the consular dispatches. It will not appear strange then that the best known Italian in California in the 1850's, the banker Felix Argenti, is not mentioned in any of the Sardinian dispatches, nor oddly enough, in Cipriani's memoirs. Argenti was a republican and a follower of Mazzini in the political conflict that divided Italians during the Risorgimento.

Besides the routine data of consular letters such as deaths, successions, ship clearances, business reports, Biesta also covered extensively the Walker and Crabb filibusters, the precise locations on the California coast of the lighthouses for the use of the Sardinian navy and merchant fleet, the whereabouts of Sardinian nationals in the interior, and the activity of the Vigilantes. Sometimes he even included local news smacking of homily, as when he announced the "disaster suffered by Royal Subject, Francesco Martini," whose Barnum Hotel on Commercial Street burned down in less than two hours, with his losses estimated at $50,000. He reported the great satisfaction of the local Italians when the Sardinian ship *La Giulietta*, "on its last voyage to Mexico and back made the journey in thirty two days, nine days faster than any other ship so far."[17] He frequently advanced the requests of those Sardinian subjects who had made considerable fortunes in California but had evaded military service at home in 1848-49 and were asking to return to their families without being arrested.

In preparing the dispatch, "State of California in 1856," written in May 1857, about the time of the public demonstration against Davidson's appointment as consul, Biesta clearly reflected the outlook of his Italian friends, especially those in the import business, who were the ones who had supported him for the consulship. He was conscious of California's drawbacks, from a European point of view: the growth of nativism coupled with the financial and economic crisis in the state discouraged both immigration and capital investments from abroad. He was, nonetheless, hopeful about his adopted state's potential growth and its ability to absorb thousands of newcomers.

This report did not pass unnoticed in Turin. There appears on Biesta's letter the notation "This is an excellent report—C.C.," the initials probably those of Camillo Cavour, the prime minister.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA IN 1856

San Francisco
May 10, 1857

Commercial Activity in 1856

Commercial activity was not favorable for the businessmen of the city during the last year, though business transactions did not bring about the great losses of 1853 and 1854. In 1855 business was rather lively; goods of every kind found a ready market and profits were considerable. Trusting that the situation would remain the same in 1856, a great many competitors entered the field and placed more orders for merchandise from the Atlantic States than had been imported during the preceding two years. The merchants of New York, Boston, and Baltimore naturally came to the conclusion that the time had come again to make quick fortunes in California. Therefore, they sent that surplus of goods, without which there would have existed a margin in the San Francisco market, sufficiently supplied to do a reasonably profitable business for the whole year. Added to this, weather conditions were more adverse than ever. The dry weather lasted so long that the miners could not work for several months, and in various localities the weather meant ruin to a great number of farmers. Money had become extremely scarce, and the merchants in the interior could neither collect from their creditors nor make further purchases, so part of the year went by without any business to speak of.

In any case, as I have said, although the merchants did not make great profits, they did not suffer great losses either. Some cities in the interior suffered fire losses, but the damage caused was of slight importance. There were, it is true, a number of individuals who went bankrupt but their number did not exceed the average of other years not marked by commercial crises.

Causes of the Business Slack

A factor worthy of remark is that the slack which takes place from time to time in San Francisco has almost always been caused by an excess of imported goods, except in the periods of the fires. Thus in 1848 and part of 1849, when certain articles of prime necessity brought unbelievable profits, most of the imports were either unsuitable for the country or for the needs of the time or introduced in excessive quantities, causing considerable losses. With a slight drop in imports in 1850, business could recoup on a more stable and rational basis, leaving the importers smaller but more certain gains. In 1851, the repeated calamity of fires brought losses to every merchant in the city, but the traces of these disasters were not long in disappearing. The city was rebuilt, confidence reborn; and in 1852, rather than considered disasters, the fires are regarded among the most effective factors in bringing about the city's growth. Speculators in real estate and goods were so active, encouraged by the rapid growth of the population of the state and the prospects of revival, that they were dazzled; and without considering the possibility of an end to such a state of affairs, they began to import goods in quantities double and triple the real demand. Immigration from Europe suddenly was drawn toward Australia and Brazil where there seemed to be greater prospects, and a prolonged crisis suddenly paralyzed all business and industrial activity, making the ill-advised speculators regret their lack of foresight. The years 1853 and 1854 are noted in the annals of California as one of the most difficult and disastrous periods in business.

The natural consequence of these catastrophes was another inevitable slowing down in imports and a slight improvement in business activity in the following year. Unfortunately, while 1855 had begun and continued under such favorable auspices, too soon were the severe lessons forgotten, and the renewed business activity proved to be illusory, for the beginning of 1856 saw again the prolonged slack that I have already mentioned.

Trade in Domestic Goods

Before discussing at length operations in 1856, I must make clear that when I speak of the business slack, I am referring only to imports. The market in domestic goods has been generally active and has brought about satisfactory gains. This type of business has attracted considerable attention, and each day increases in importance. In years past, trade in local products was almost exclusively limited to breadstuffs. Now the market in salted meats, hams, butter, cheese, hides, wool, and lumber has become extensive, and many merchants who could not withstand the competition of richer firms have given up the import business to deal exclusively in local products.

Imports

In examining the commercial movement of this port, it is helpful to know with some measure of accuracy the value and extent of international trade in order to make a comparison with the products previously imported. This is a near impossible task in a country where not all the importers are required to account for the products they receive. It is certainly true that goods coming from foreign ports are subject upon arrival to customs duties, which are calculated according to their value at the port of embarkation. But even granting the possibility of such a calculation, it would include only a portion of the imports since the greater part of them, loaded on American ships in New York, Boston, and Baltimore, where the required duty has already been paid, are on their arrival in California unloaded and put into circulation, the importer being under no obligation to declare the value.

I shall limit my survey to the main imports and consider only the quantity in relation to previous years.

Wine Imports

Introduction of wine has been less important than in 1855, as shown:

1855	—	13,758 barrels	1855	—	120,000 cases
1856	—	9,450 barrels	1856	—	100,460 cases
Decrease		4,450 barrels [*sic*]	Difference		19,540 cases

Wine in barrels is imported mainly from Marseille and Bordeaux, plus a small quantity from Spain. The price per barrel was, throughout the year 1856, held at 40 and 50 dollars per barrel, thus leaving reasonable profit for the importer. As for the importing of white wines, there has been little demand for them in this market, so it is of negligible importance. As for wine shipped by the case, France alone exported 74,086 cases and Germany 17,250. The prices varied from $2.75 to $4.00 a case (Lire 13.75 to L.20).

18,620 baskets (12 bottles each) of champagne were imported, about half of which came from France. The price varied according to quality, from $9 to $18 per basket. The foreign population in California prefers the light French wines, especially those of Bordeaux. The Americans, however, consume large quantities of heavier wines, as those from Jerez, Alicante and Malaga. I do not doubt that our red and white wines from the island of Sardinia as well as our dry wines from the mainland would find a profitable outlet in this market.

Grape Culture

Concerning this, it should be made clear that before long wine imports to California will necessarily have to decrease. Grape culture is being steadily pushed, and in many localities such as San Jose, Santa Clara, and Los Angeles, where extensive vineyards were started three years ago, the vines are beginning to bear abundantly, producing a wine of excellent quality. The day will come when California will no longer be dependent upon European wines, and she will even supply the demand for the other American states.

Spirits, Brandy, Gin, Etc.

Liquor consumption in California is immense, and the beverages from France have been naturally the most highly preferred. For several years, however, French liquors have had to compete with those from New York state, where production is highly developed. American brandies, though of very poor quality, find a ready market in California because of their moderate cost.

French cognacs sold at rather high prices for the entire year at a profit, but the price diminished sensibly toward the end of the year, without much prospect of rising. This is due mainly to the arrival of some ships with cargoes of liquor and to the 70% decrease in duties regulated recently by the new customs tariff. Such an important decrease, naturally permitting the importation of ordinary European brandies, will not fail to work against those produced in the United States.

Liquor imports in 1856 were as follows:

Absinthe	—	barrels	192
	—	cases	5,959
Alcohol	—	pipes	336
	—	barrels	6,938
	—	cases	2,336
Brandy	—	pipes	138
	—	½ pipes	2,669
	—	barrels	31,430
	—	cases	6,733
Gin	—	pipes	1,608
	—	½ pipes	270
	—	barrels	186
	—	cases	7,496
Rum	—	barrels	1,076
Vermouth	—	cases	2,986
Whiskey	—	barrels	25,737
	—	kegs	120
	—	cases	665
Anisette	—	cases	473
Others	—	cases	1,000

Silks, Novelties, Dry Goods, Hardware

The imports of these articles was in the amount of 73,698 packages and bundles of different sizes.

In 1856	—	73,698
In 1855	—	59,589
Difference	—	14,103 packages [*sic*]

This business was for the entire year one of the most unfavorable; and very few firms, only those with longer experience in the field, were able to carefully regulate their imports from outside so as to avoid great losses.

The sum total of goods sold during 1856 was probably equal to that of the preceding year, but profits were almost always lower. The overabundance of imports, the excessive competition that took place both in San Francisco and the interior, and the unlimited credit allowed the small merchants of San Francisco by the businessmen of New York were the main reasons for these negative results. Finding it impossible to dispose of their stock quickly and at the same time obliged to send remittances to the Atlantic States, these merchants glutted the auction halls throughout the year, and the resulting returns clearly showed the difficulties of the times and the excess of similar items on the market. At the present time the market is still overstocked, and so many goods are already ordered and en route that it can be seen at once that even without further shipments from Europe or the United States, California will be amply supplied with these items for at least six months.

Clothing

The clothing business is very important in this state. Since cost of labor is still so high, few articles of clothing can be manufactured either in San Francisco or the interior. The importing of such items, therefore, has taken on extensive proportions and as often happens here, it exceeds the demand. This was the case last year, with little gain either for the retailer or for the importer. An anomaly to be noted is that the inhabitants of the state who live in remote places can outfit themselves in clothes at prices equal to and sometimes lower than the cost of the same articles selling in any city on the Atlantic Coast. This paradox, as I said before, is explained by the fact that San Francisco businessmen, in order to continue receiving their shipments, are oftentimes forced to sell out at any cost, even at enormous loss. The consumer certainly has reason to be satisfied in these circumstances, but the importers rightfully complain that they alone must sustain the responsibilities and the losses.

The system of long-term credit accorded the merchants of the interior by those in San Francisco has also had its negative side, and it is generally believed that those who granted such credit were the ones who sustained greater losses in 1856 than in any previous year.

Coal Imports

Imports in 1856 from various countries and regions were as follows:

England	—	tons	—	6,645
Anthracite	—	"	—	32,444
Australia	—	"	—	3,032
Chile	—	"	—	3,427
Oregon	—	"	—	4,140
Cumberland	—	"	—	4,490
				54,178

In 1855 the total was 86,093 tons, showing a difference of 31,915 tons less in 1856.

During the whole year this product did not move, and its sale hardly sufficed to cover import costs. The quantity on the market toward the end of 1855 with the amount subsequently imported in 1856 was out of proportion with local need, hence the decrease in imports. Nor is there any likelihood that the market in coal will improve for some time, for besides the demand not having increased, imports have not diminished either; and, as a matter of fact, it has already been announced that another 20,000 tons of coal is about to arrive. Coal imports are further decreasing for the reason that huge stockpiles were made at Panama and San Juan del Sur, stopping points for the two steamship lines on this part of the Pacific, and also because the local and Oregon coal is cheaper and its quality sufficient, these are the most important sources of coal for domestic use. Hence, while coal from England and Australia now sells at prices economical enough, \$17 to \$20 per ton, the coal from Bellingham Bay and Choose [*sic*] Bay in Oregon sells for from \$12 to \$14.

Coffee Imports

In 1856, 7,216,767 pounds of coffee was imported, and in 1855, 6,659,570 pounds, showing an increase of 557,197 pounds. Considering that at the beginning of 1856 there was a reserve of 3,300,000 pounds and that consumption of coffee in California does not exceed 550,000 pounds a month or six and one-half million pounds for the entire year, the conclusion is rapidly reached that the amount of coffee which at the end of the year was still available on the market was almost 4,000,000 pounds.

More coffee having been imported than was actually warranted by the demand, it is not surprising that during the whole year of 1856 the price of coffee was very low, not varying from 10 to 11 cents a pound. Exception must be made for the months of April, May, and June, when the coffee cargoes all arrived and coffee became a speculator's item and the price quickly rose to 14 and 15 cents.

Miscellaneous Imports

In addition to those imports already itemized, the following are principal imports, calculated in 1856 in approximately the following quantities:

Rice, Carolina	—	7,498 barrels
Rice, foreign	—	313,417 sacks
Salt	—	20,074 sacks
Salt	—	15,647 barrels
Sugar, foreign	—	154,373 sacks
Preserves	—	16,852 barrels
Preserves	—	129,846 cases
Dried fruits	—	25,730 barrels
Beer, American	—	2,910 barrels
Beer, American	—	8,648 cases
Beer, English	—	18,073 barrels
Beer, English	—	4,289 cases
Syrups and Molasses	—	70,255 barrels
Syrup and Molasses	—	1,948 cases
Olive Oil	—	35,459 cases
Soap	—	71,110 cases
Spirits of Turpentine	—	2,565 barrels
Spirits of Turpentine	—	25,222 cases
Shoes and Boots	—	82,165 cases
Stearic Candles	—	240,659 cases
Iron Bars	—	119,681
Newsprint	—	7,972 bales

The total value of imports for 1856 is estimated at $9,155,507, equal to 49,777,535 Lire.

Before speaking of exports, which with the exception of gold cannot yet have the importance in California that it has in older and more populated countries, I shall examine briefly shipping, the increase in population of the state, the main industries that have been introduced particularly by Italians, and then of the financial state.

Port Activity

The following tables[18] indicate the number and class of vessels that arrived in San Francisco during 1856 and that sailed from here, the countries from which they originated and toward which they were directed, and their respective tonnage.

From the chart it will be seen that the national flag was not well represented in these waters last year, with only one arrival, the *Alessandro* reported from Genoa. However, to this list must be added the journeys between Mexico and San Francisco, the regular route of the Sardinian schooner, *La Giulietta.*[19]

* * * * * * *

Pilot Fees

One of the reforms now being considered which would not fail to greatly favor shipping is a law tending to regulate and limit pilot fees. They are now so burdensome that ships, in order to avoid partial payment of fees upon entering or leaving, do not take on a pilot, which sometimes is the cause of deplorable disasters. These fees, which are as high as $16 per foot of draft, are so out of proportion with what is paid in other Pacific ports that no shipowner allows his captains to dock in San Francisco except in case of absolute necessity, and instead directs them either to come to some port in Mexico or to one of the nearby islands in the Pacific. So true is this that the enormous whaling fleet, both American and foreign, instead of stopping in this port for supplies or to discharge cargoes, has for this purpose chosen the Sandwich Islands where its presence is the source of thriving activity. Yet, whether for its geographical position or for its ties with the whole world, and especially for its immense resources for provisions, San Francisco certainly had incontestable reasons to be preferred to the Sandwich Islands. The fact that the latter was chosen must be attributed solely to the fact that it is more economical for the whaling ships there, mostly because the pilot fees in San Francisco are exorbitant.

To indicate how much in San Francisco's interest it is to attract the whaling fleet here, one fact will suffice. The whaling fleet each year comprises more than 2,400 ships, and the average intake of oil per ship is estimated at 1,000 barrels. It is hoped that the initiative taken by the prominent businessmen of San Francisco and New York to secure a substantial decrease in pilot fees will be given serious consideration by the legislature and that it will enact a law allowing whalers free entry into this port.

Stone Pier

Meanwhile, there is now under study a worthwhile project for the city and its harbor, an improvement that will become a necessity in a few years. This is the construction of a stone pier, a "bulk head," on San Francisco's waterfront facing the bay. This grandiose construction is imperiously needed to prevent the encumbrance of the harbor caused by the mud that accumulates continually all around the city, and for the more than distressing condition of the present piers resting on light, rotten piles, many of which would hardly withstand a strong storm.

Unfortunately, the deplorable financial situation in San Francisco and California and the difficulty of negotiating loans at reasonable rates have so far prevented serious consideration of this project. It is hoped that the new state administration under the healthy influence of reform will concern itself with this project and put it into effect.

Population Movement

Passengers

The number of passengers arriving by sea during 1856 via the Panama and Nicaragua route and via Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope was distributed as follows:

	Incoming Passengers	*Outgoing Passengers*
First Quarter	7,686	4,456
Second Quarter	9,915	5,982
Third Quarter	5,910	5,467
Fourth Quarter	6,119	6,842
	29,630	22,747

A gain of 6,883 persons is shown, compared with 8,861 in the previous year during which 31,759 passengers arrived and 22,898 left. To the credit of the 1855 figure should be added the increase in population from the immigrants coming across the plains. During 1855 few overland trains arrived from the Missouri frontier, while in 1856 the number of people who came across the continent to California is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000. This influx was made up mostly of Germans, Irish, and Americans from the North. French, Spanish, and Italian immigration was next to nothing.

Population in California

In spite of such increases the population of the state, which was calculated at about 335,000 in 1853, has remained from that time on more or less stationary. Even making generous allowances, it is very high if the population today reaches the 400,000 figure, and that is a low figure when one takes into account the great resources of this state which for lack of manpower cannot be utilized. Immense stretches of land are still uncultivated, mines are still unexplored, and numerous industries are neglected.

On the other hand, such a regretable slowing up of arrivals is easily explained by the great hardships involved in coming to California. Besides the journey being in itself long and arduous, the cost of transportation is still too high to make the move of any benefit to farmers and their families. The facility England provides its emigrants to Australia and the liberal concessions that many South American states make to those who settle there have contributed greatly in directing large numbers of people toward those countries, to the serious detriment of the more distant but no less rich California.

Society to Promote Immigration

What the men who governed this state have not understood until now, happily, was known by some eminent citizens of San Francisco and New York. The most energetic and active measures have been taken to favor immigration in every respect. And judging from what has already been done, it is reasonable to believe that we shall soon feel the beneficial effects of their policy. Truthfully, in its products, climate, mineral wealth, freedom of speech, California has no rivals. Thus California can attract immigrants and withstand competition: the advantages offered to immigrants should compensate for the expense, danger, and suffering involved in leaving their homelands. Besides opportunity for success, they must be assured of the security of life, liberty, and property. It is necessary, in brief, that the reasons why immigrants prefer another country should not arise from a lack of protection or manifest injustices or from difficulty of entry. For this reason, the new society to promote immigration is now engaged in a study of the laws that will better serve to guarantee the rights of each immigrant, the measures to be taken to restore their confidence, and what concessions must be granted so that they may settle here as useful citizens. While looking forward to the gigantic transcontinental railway, which cannot be completed for a long time yet, the society with a view to meeting the urgent needs of the moment with temporary but prompt measures has promoted the overland highway across the plains of Kansas, Texas, and New Mexico. Farmers, who constitute the serious, useful, and permanent element of any settlement, will be able to use this route, bringing with them their farm implements and belongings, and thus to avoid the enormous cost of passage by sea which now discourages them from coming to California.

This road-building project voted by Congress in Washington, D.C., has already partially begun, since the necessary surveys and research are completed and the building costs computed; hence there is good reason for hoping that the new route, which will be safely guarded against Indian attack, may be open to immigration from the Atlantic states by next year.

Among the causes that have stopped immigrants from coming here, I have already mentioned the lack of legal protection and the injustices to which they are sometimes subjected. More than to any other people, these causes may be mentioned in reference to the Chinese.

Having flocked here in great numbers since 1849, the Chinese were not slow in realizing that though they were in a free land, their situation was almost the same as slavery. Subjected upon arrival to a tax of fifty dollars per person, in addition to the charges and contributions required of other citizens, without being permitted to share any advantages whatsoever, they are not allowed to become naturalized or to enjoy the privileges granted to foreigners and are even prohibited from testifying in court. Their situation was altogether on the same level as that of the Negroes. It is true that the fifty-dollar tax was recently repealed as being unconstitutional, but the other abuses have not lessened nor are they on the point of ceasing. And if to this is added the very slight contact the Chinese have with the other population because of their language, it can be readily understood why immigration from the Celestial Empire tends to decrease rather than increase more and more each day. In my opinion, the Americans have performed a most serious injustice in having encouraged this. The Chinese people are serious, intelligent, and hard-working. Treated kindly and fairly, they are easily guided; and if allowed to work in agriculture and industries, they would certainly contribute more to California than that mob of shiftless idlers of all nationalities who are, nonetheless, welcomed with open arms and who uselessly crowd the cities and cause continual trouble and disorder.

Nationals

It would be appropriate to say something about our own subjects. Unfortunately there is no law that obligates them to register upon arriving. The immense area throughout which they are scattered, the aversion they have felt so far to presenting themselves to a foreign consul, and the little time I have had to put myself in direct contact with them have made it difficult for me to estimate their numbers. I believe I am more or less right in saying that the number of Italians exceeds 6,000. But what I can say for certain, and with a feeling of national pride, is that the Italian population is one of the best, most active and hard-working in California. Strong, industrious, and accustomed to suffering and toil, our nationals tend to their own affairs without taking part in those regrettable disorders that the heterogeneous people of the state give vent to from time to time. Generally, whether in San Francisco or in the interior, the Italians thrive and prosper in their businesses, and there is probably not a village in all California in which Italian business is not well represented, just as there is not a mining district where companies of Italian miners are not noted for their good conduct, their fraternal harmony, and for the energy which they bring to their work.

Since it would be interesting, I shall mention some of the Italians who represent with honor the Italian name in California. Not to dwell too long on the subject, I will restrict my list to San Francisco for the time being, mentioning some of the Italians residing here:

Andornetti and Blanci, dealers in domestic and imported products
Francesco Benzi, pharmacist

Giacomo Brignardello, hardware dealer
Francesco Cogliandolo, proprietor of a coffee house
Giuseppe Dellepiane, dealer in spices and imported items
F. Genella, china and hardware
Nicola Larco, dealer and importer, owner of a regular shipping line between Mexico and San Francisco
Laviosa and Marengo, dealers and importers
Francesco Lavezzari, dealer in domestic and imported products
Giorgio Lociero, owner of the principal public bath in the city
E. Long, hardware dealer
Francesco Martinez, owner of the main hotel-restaurant in the city
Francesco Medana, china and hardware dealer
Giovanni Nobili, hotel owner
Francesco Roncati, china and hardware
Salvator Rosa, dealer in music, pianos, and musical instruments.

There are many others practicing professions or various trades. Among the industries introduced in San Francisco by the Italians, the following deserve special mention:

> A steam-equipped macaroni and vermicelli factory, built on lines similar to those of Genoa. The introduction of this branch of industry is due to Messrs. Brignardello and Macchiavello. The products of this firm are highly esteemed and compete favorably both in price and quality with similar products of Genoa and Chile.
>
> *Imitation Marble*
>
> Messrs. Erba, Spanna, and Roncati recently opened a steam-operated establishment for the manufacture of imitation marble. The samples which were submitted for analysis by experts leave nothing to be desired, either with respect to solidity, impermeability, and strength or to its beauty. In a country such as this where works in marble cannot be had, except at really prohibitive prices, almost certain success can be foreseen for this industry. This firm, still in its infancy, is slated to supply the needs not only of San Francisco and the interior but very likely of Oregon and the entire Pacific coast as well.
>
> *Liqueurs and Chocolate*
>
> I must not ignore another Italian establishment, also equipped with steam, the property of Domenico Ghirardello [*sic*]. This active and enterprising Italian had already earned a considerable fortune through his industry when the fires of 1851 reduced him to ruin. Courageously setting himself to work again, he succeeded in recouping part of his losses and now heads a firm that manufactures liqueurs and chocolates. His establishment, the first and certainly the best of its kind in California, has been in operation for two years and is doing a thriving business.

Financial State of California

I have already referred to the finances of California as being in a deplorable state. In fact, an analysis shows that far from being satisfactory, there is no sign of change and the state is moving rapidly toward bankruptcy. From year to year expenditures have exceeded receipts, and instead of creating a surplus to make up the deficiency, nothing has been done but increasing the public debt. New bonds were issued, regardless of whether such bonds were valid or not. Sometimes, it is true, the illegality of such actions was discussed in assemblies and the newspapers, but the doubts and inquiries were suspended until it was learned with fright that the debt contracted was neither authorized nor constitutional and that the people of California consequently were not responsible for its payment.

Public Debt

The state public debt with the funded debt on January 1 of this year was, including rate of interest, as follows:

State Bonds — 3% — 1850	$ 6,088.95
State Bonds — 7% — 1851	150,000.00
State Bonds — 7% — 1852	1,389,600.00
State Bonds — 7% — 1855	700,000.00
State Bonds — 7% — 1856	984,000.00
Total Debt:	$3,229,688.95
State Comptroller's warrants	$ 404,447.12
Salaries	24,374.60
War debt not yet assumed by Federal Government	218,020.91
School debt	467,000.00
Deductible as receipts	
	$4,343,531.58
January 1, 1857	212,404.27
Total Debt:	$4,131,127.31
Expenditures for the fiscal year 1855-1856	$1,368,684.81
Receipts for the same period	723,289.83
Deficit:	$ 645,394.98

It is thought, however, that the expenses for the present fiscal year 1856-1857 will substantially decrease and that revenues may exceed expenses.

To this should be added the debts due from cities and counties which, all together, total $12,165,290 which is distributed as follows:

	Funded Debt	Floating Debt	Revenues	Present Debt
State	$3,914,710	$ 428,821	$212,404	$ 4,131,127
Counties	871,268	1,712,187	218,195	2,365,260
Cities	3,809,216	1,927,581	67,894	5,668,903
	$8,595,194	$4,068,589	$498,493	$12,165,290

Unconstitutionality of the Public Debt

Although this debt is not in itself extraordinary and the resources of the state are sufficient to cancel it within a few years, it must nevertheless be remembered that for a period of eight years no really important work had been performed with the public money, and with the exception of a few properties of slight value nothing is left to the state. Considering not only the money borrowed and the state revenues uselessly squandered but also that the payment of the debt was declared by the Supreme Court illegal and void, the unpleasant surprise of the public upon learning this is readily understood.

To make matters worse, someone in the state legislature, under the pretext that the above debt had been illegally contracted, proposed that the debt be repudiated altogether! Fortunately, common sense prevailed, and this unpolitical and dishonorable proposal was rejected by the majority. It is hoped that the new administration will make known the means it intends to use to stem effectively the embezzlements and corruptions that have been so deeply rooted for so long a time, and that it will still be in time to save the state from the danger of an ignominious bankruptcy.

Exports

What I have said hitherto about the present condition of California, the slack in business activity, the unfavorable state of finances, and the negative results of 1856 might make you think that this state, which was heralded under such flattering auspices, has so well spent its eight years of existence that henceforth it must necessarily be on the verge of exhaustion, and thus can offer immigrants only limited and insufficient resources.

This is not all the case. If one looks at what is going on in this state, there is reason to be completely reassured since, excepting business and finances which are undergoing a momentary crisis, not only have California's main resources, agriculture and mining, not slowed down for a moment in the mania of progressive development, but the products of the soil and of industry are already such that local needs have been supplied and are giving way to a comparatively important export trade.

Value of Exports in 1856

Exports in 1856, not including gold of course, are computed at about $4,500,000, equal to Lire 22,500,000, and are mostly made up of wheat, barley, vegetables, salted and smoked fish, butter, hides, bricks, and construction lumber. To these should be added mercury, originating from New Almaden and from the mine known as Guadalupe which was recently opened. 23,024 flasks of fifty pounds each of mercury were exported, valued at 4,000,000 Lire.

Exports have been directed mostly to China, the Sandwich Islands and other islands of the Pacific, the Southern coast of North America, especially Mexico and Central America. Without any doubt whatever, if California continues to progress as in the past, all the countries near her will be supplied by California alone within a few years.

Agriculture

This end can be attained only when California has developed its agriculture. The first immigrants, deceived by the appearance of the soil which looks parched in the summer season and is flooded in the rainy season, had not given much importance to the advantages they could derive from the land. It was even believed that many sites could not be cultivated advantageously. But it was not long before experience proved that, coupled with great mineral wealth, this country had immense agricultural possibilities. It is enough to cross the fertile plains of Sacramento, Napa, Sonoma, Santa Cruz, those at the foot of the Sierra Nevadas, to understand all the wealth that can be derived from the soil of California.

Fertility of Soil

No other land yields with less toil so many varied products and in such quantities. The climate is favorable to all types of cultivation, favoring with equal hospitality northern, temperate zone, and equatorial products. Cotton, flax, tobacco, wheat, rice, copper, sugar, barley, and oats grow and thrive side by side and are not at all surprised to be found together! All of these products bear fruit with equal abundance. The grape vine was tried and in three years grew fine and tall and lush. The cultivation of vegetables is expanding, and the vegetables planted multiply in prodigious proportions. Fruit trees are weighed down by their superb fruit. In short, copious harvests are beginning to replace what was formerly the most complete barrenness. And all this with hardly the effort of scratching the surface of the soil, sowing, and reaping the fruits. More than mere words, as I have noted, the facts prove it. California not only has freed itself of many imports, but the extent of her domestic production even leaves a small surplus for export.

If the official reports are correct, last year's production of cereals was enormous, to the great satisfaction of the growers whose profits amply compensate them for their efforts. The quantity of wheat reportedly still available exceeds 1,300,000 sacks of 100 pounds each.

To form a clearer picture of the agricultural progress of this state, it will suffice to cite the sum total of a few products that were imported in 1853 which the state now produces for itself. Imports of wheat, barley, biscuit, butter, oats, potatoes, and firewood were valued at $10,129,000 in 1853. In 1856 imports of the same items not only were slight, but exports of the same totaled $2,300,000. That constitutes an increase of California's wealth by $12,429,000. To this must be added the exports previously mentioned (mercury, hides, and wood) as well as the considerable quantity of cereals which, as I noted above, is still in the hands of the growers.

Cultivated Land

The number of acres under cultivation does not total, perhaps, 300,000 and the harvest of cereals in 1856 was as follows:

Wheat	—	3,096,946 bushels
Barley	—	3,521,723 bushels
Oats	—	870,965 bushels

That is an average of 25 bushels per acre under cultivation. It would be worthwhile to specify the counties where such results were obtained since it will demonstrate that the fertility of California's soil is not restricted to a few privileged regions but extends equally from the borders of Oregon to those of Baja California.

Cereal Production, by County, 1856 (in bushels)

County	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Oats*
Alameda	462,134	918,000	260,500
Amador	28,000	52,990	17,680
Butte	109,320	161,125	3,750
Colusi	122,360	114,600	8,075
Contra Costa	301,385	135,900	10,950
El Dorado	17,280	27,600	26,400
Humboldt	35,000	15,000	40,000
Los Angeles	8,840	88,300	1,500
Marin	21,384	43,459	29,412
Monterey	24,000	55,000	6,250
Placer	59,770	56,760	4,180
Pluma	24,500	8,000	2,500
Sacramento	132,420	210,360	23,040
San Joaquin	247,120	435,200	58,760
Santa Clara	180,000	48,000	30,000
Santa Cruz	82,500	107,575	29,025
San Luis Obispo	10,800	8,000	......
San Bernardino	30,000	15,000	......
San Diego	5,000	8,000	......
Solano	182,333	127,067	16,667
Sonoma	192,600	65,640	162,995
Shasta	63,618	70,779	17,985
Siskiyou	149,900	39,270	92,680
Sutter	48,452	94,881	2,744
Trinity	18,950	3,880	14,422
Tehama	212,500	150,000	......
Yolo	266,000	350,000	2,200
Yuba	60,380	111,400	9,240
Total	3,096,546	3,521,723	870,965

Improvement in Livestock

Another enterprise that follows closely upon farming and concerns the important food problem, leather and wool industries and all the derivative activities is stock raising. California with its rich and abundant pastures and mild climate—an easy rival of Australia, so renowned for its wool—was not long in occupying the attention of serious and practical minds who saw another great source of wealth in livestock. The attempts made a few years ago to improve livestock, especially sheep, gave satisfying results. But it was only several months ago that some intelligent importers began to introduce into California a superior breed of sheep, the Merinos from both France and Spain.

* * * * * * *

Silver Mines[20]

In addition to the gold and mercury deposits, several other kinds of metals are discovered daily everywhere in California: silver in Monterey and Tuolumne counties and near San Bernardino, copper in Nevada, Trinity, and El Dorado counties, iron in Mariposa county and iron sulphate at Santa Cruz, platinum in Nevada and Trinity counties, chrome and antimony at Santa Barbara. With few exceptions, none of these mines is yet in operation.

I will not discuss the other resources of California for, compared to those mentioned, they are secondary. I will just cite one fact, one immeasurably significant fact, and that is, while San Francisco has been a city for only a few years, it has already counted as one of the four leading seaports in the American Union.

It certainly cannot be denied that numerous disorders still exist in California's political and legal organization. Deplorable uncertainty still reigns over many property deeds, and oppressive laws are still directed against the foreign immigrants; respect for personal dignity, personal security, impartial justice have still a long way to go in California. But it is hoped that the disgraceful examples of the past will serve as a lesson to those who are now in charge of public administration so that they, better informed, will realize what the real needs of the state are—the urgent necessity of erecting a dam against the destructive work of a corrupt system. The recent reorganization of the Vigilante Committee, though illegal, was partially justified in the fact of the shameful disorders that were dishonoring the country. The beneficial effects that it brought about justify, to a certain degree, the terrible dictatorship that it exercised.

Exception made for these drawbacks, which, in my opinion, can only be temporary and not at all peculiar to California, it can be concluded that California, far from being exhausted, has hardly even started. Its inexhaustible resources are barely touched, and as these are developed, the state will gain in wealth, importance and prestige. Briefly then, the hard-working and courageous immigrant who chooses California for his home, rather than encountering dire poverty and disillusionment for his efforts and for leaving his homeland, will find here generous compensation.

NOTES

The consular dispatches from San Francisco to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the period 1850-1859 are preserved in the *Archivio di Stato*, Turin, under the designation "Consolati Nazionali: San Francisco"; from the 1860's, to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they are preserved in the *Archivio di Stato del Ministero degli Esteri*. Arrangements to use the materials from these archives were made possible through the helpful collaboration of Dr. Garretti di Ferrere, Director, *Archivio di Stato*, Turin, and Dr. Renato Mori, Director, *Archivio di Stato del Ministero degli Esteri*, Rome.

1. Leonetto Cipriani, *Avventure della mia vita*, pubblicate ed annotate da Leonardo Mordini (Bologna, 1934), II, 38. For Cipriani's life and adventures in America, see *California & Overland Diaries, 1851-1871*, translated and edited by Ernest S. Falbo, Champoeg Press, 1962.

2. Letter to Patrice Guillaume Dillon, French consul, San Francisco, in *Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangers, Correspondance Commerciale, San Francisco*, II, microfilm in the Bancroft Library.

3. Letter to Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated March 9, 1853, from San Francisco, in the *Archivio di Stato*, Turin.

4. Letter to Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated January 4, 1857, in the *Archivio di Stato*, Turin.

5. This letter, written in May 1857, petitioned for Biesta as consul, expressed the resentment of the Italians at Davidson's appointment as Sardinian consul. See also Note 7.

6. Benjamin Davidson, a native of London, was acting consul of Sardinia from 1857-1862. He is listed in San Francisco City Directories for 1850, 1856, 1859, and 1861. For his banking activities as representative of the Rothschild Bank in California, see Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire—Banking in California* (Chicago, 1927), I, 51.

7. The meeting was presided over by Domenico Ghirardelli, with E. Grancini serving as secretary. *L'Echo du Pacifique*, the French newspaper of San Francisco, carried the entire text of the letter May 19, 1857, as well as a long reply from Biesta thanking his fellow countrymen for their support. Notice of the public meeting also appeared in the *Marine Intelligencer* and *The Morning Call*, San Francisco, May 20, 1857.

8. Davidson left for Europe in 1862, appointing Paul B. Abbate in his stead, and later Swiss-born Emanuel Berri, a member of Davidson's banking firm, became acting consul for Sardinia. G. B. Cerruti, the first regular Italian consul in San Francisco, was appointed in 1864, receiving his exequator on April 19, 1864. National Archives, Record Group '59, Exequators, VII, 25.

9. Letter to Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turin, dated July 19, 1858.

10. The committee collected 784 English pounds, principally from the Italian colony but also from many Americans sympathetic to the Italian cause. With

this money four cannons were purchased, each bearing the inscription, in Italian, "To Italy, from her sons in California." Howard Marraro, "Documenti italiani e americani sulla spedizione garibaldina in Sicilia," in *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, Roma, Anno XLIV, Fascicolo I (1957), p. 12.

11. Biesta is listed in the city directories of 1854 and 1859, the latter with a full-page advertisement for his store.

12. G. Schiavo, *Four Centuries of Italian-American History* (Vigo Press, 1952), p. 271, furnishes that precise date, adding that the newspaper was a weekly. The few examples of his newspaper, *L'Eco della Patria*, date only from 1867 and are in the Bancroft Library. An 1867 billhead of the *Eco della Patria*, Polyglot and Job Printing Office, San Francisco, is held in the California Historical Society Headquarters in San Francisco. The newspaper, *L'Eco della Patria*, probably did not begin before 1865 (see Note 15) though it may well have had a predecessor under a different name.

13. The Biesta obituary in the *San Francisco Call*, February 3, 1894, page 3, column 2, also attributes him with having founded, other than the *L'Eco della Patria*, an *Italian Illustrated News*, of which there is no copy extant.

14. California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XVIII, 206-208.

15. Letter dated March 5, 1865, in the *Archivio del Ministero degli Esteri*, Rome.

16. See Note 13.

17. Letter, dated January 4, 1857. The feat had also merited newspaper notice in *Alta California*, January 29, 1857, and in *The Herald*, same date.

18. Charts omitted here.

19. A schooner of Sardinian registry, owned by Nicola Larco, a Genovese resident in San Francisco. See also Note 17.

20. The preceding section on gold mining is omitted.

New Books

"Great Citizen," A Biography of William H. Crocker. By David Warren Ryder. (San Francisco, Historical Publications, 1962. 271 pp. No price indicated.) Reviewed by Benjamin Franklin Gilbert.

The banker, William Henry Crocker, is made the subject of an intimate and readable biography by the author who has previously written several books relating to Northern California business firms. Born in Sacramento on the eve of the Civil War, this scion of railroad builder Charles Crocker, carved an important niche in the state's financial history until his death in 1937. Shortly after graduating from the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, William H. Crocker became associated with the firm of Crocker, Woolworth & Co., Bankers, established at San Francisco in 1883. He eventually became president of the Crocker Bank, making it one of the strongest banks in the West. In 1886 William Crocker married Ethel W. Sperry of Stockton. The book has separate chapters on the genealogy of both the Crocker and Sperry families. Throughout the first part of the book there is also considerable data about Charles Crocker.

As a banker and businessman William Crocker aided many worthy projects. For example, he financially backed Captain William Matson in starting a shipping company. After the earthquake and fire of 1906, Crocker utilized the resources of his bank in helping to rebuild San Francisco. He financially assisted the United States government during the Spanish-American War.

The greatest contribution of the book is that it demonstrates the varied aspects of Crocker's life. Besides his banking duties Crocker was associated with the development of mines in the Far West and Alaska. In California he also engaged in irrigation, petroleum, and hydro-electric ventures.

The author brings out the frequently forgotten contributions that Crocker made as a patron of culture and philanthropy. Crocker assisted in raising money to support the Mid-Winter Fair held in Golden Gate Park and played a significant part in planning the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Crocker and his family donated their property on Nob Hill as the site for Grace Cathedral, and William Crocker was largely responsible for establishing the San Francisco Community Chest and the municipal opera house. Crocker possessed tremendous interest in science; he personally financed the many astronomical expeditions of William Wallace Campbell, director of Lick Observatory, to various corners of the world. Crocker served as president of the California Academy of Sciences for many years and solved several of the institution's financial problems. As a regent of the University of California for over twenty-nine years he made gifts to the University that fostered scientific research. The book further shows that Crocker as a leader of the California Republican Party engaged in important political activity. Moreover, it relates his social activity and connections with the Bohemian Club and the Occasional Thinkers' Club.

The book is handsomely printed by the James H. Barry Company and has decorations by Dan Adair as well as many excellent photographs. It carries a foreword by Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president emeritus of the University of California. While the book lacks a formal bibliography, the author at least reveals some of his sources in the acknowledgments and in the text. Unfortunately, the book has neither chapter titles, table of contents, nor an index. The thirty-one-page appendix contains several interesting and worthwhile letters of the Crocker family and some of the correspondence between Herbert Hoover and William H. Crocker. Although the biography is uncritical, too laudatory, and at times trivial, the author has made a welcomed contribution to California history.

Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, a native San Franciscan and doctoral graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, is a specialist in California history. Author of numerous scholarly articles on the history of the state and of *Pioneers For One Hundred Years: San Jose State College, 1857-1957*, Dr. Gilbert is a professor of history at San Jose State College.

Josiah Belden, 1841 California Overland Pioneer: His Memoir and Early Letters. Edited and with Introduction by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Georgetown, Calif., The Talisman Press, 1962. 150 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by Dale L. Morgan.

The Bartleson Party of 1841 has enduring interest as the first emigrant company to set out for California overland with wagons, having the intention of making their homes in that far-off place. Their departure from Missouri stands up along history's skyline, illuminated on one side by the sunset glow of the fur trading era and on the other by the sunrise radiance of the era of the overland emigrant. Not all members of the party, including John Bartleson himself, stayed on in California, but a surprising proportion of those who did were afterward prominent in the Golden State, including John Bidwell and Charles M. Weber, and they will always have a place uniquely their own in the history of California and the West.

John Bidwell, Nicholas ("Cheyenne") Dawson, Joseph B. Chiles, and others wrote lively reminiscences of their experiences, and Josiah Belden was scarcely behindhand, but it has taken the enthusiastic interest of Doyce Nunis to fashion a book out of Belden's manuscripts. The present work is made up of a long dictation recorded for H. H. Bancroft in 1878 (printed unedited in three installments in *Touring Topics* in 1930), and of three previously unpublished letters now in the Coe Collection at Yale, written by Belden to his sister, Mrs. Eliza M. Bowers, and dated Monterey, December 21, 1841; Santa Cruz, March 21, 1842; and Monterey, June 15, 1845. (It escaped Dr. Nunis' attention that a fourth letter to Mrs. Bowers exists, dated Monterey, December 19, 1843.)

On reaching California, Belden worked as a clerk for Thomas O. Larkin, then set up for himself as merchant and rancher. His dictation, which abounds in lively incident, concentrates on life in California before the Gold Rush and does not concern itself with Belden's later years, but Dr. Nunis provides a few notes: real estate holdings at San Jose made a capitalist of Belden, and he died in New York City in 1892 a wealthy man.

In his knowledgeable introduction, Dr. Nunis has described the literature of the 1841 emigration, and he has also furnished a useful "Census and Commentary" relating to the personnel of the party, including some who ended up in Oregon. He has amply annotated the Belden text, though the notes appear at the end of the book and are not therefore the "footnotes" Dr. Nunis calls them. The route taken by the Bartleson Party is depicted after a fashion on an endpaper map drawn with inexcusable carelessness: Fort Laramie, Independence Rock, and Soda Springs all misplaced; Pilot Rock miscalled Pilot Knob; "Humbolt" River made to flow into Lake Tahoe; Mono Lake connected up with Walker Lake, etc. The book is beautifully designed and printed, well up to the standard of the Talisman Press, and no library of early Californiana is complete without it.

DALE L. MORGAN, a Guggenheim Fellow in 1947 and recipient of the Society's Wagner Memorial Award in 1961, is a foremost authority on Gold Rush narratives. Author of *The Humboldt*, of *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, and of the *Great Salt Lake*, Mr. Morgan's latest works are *The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard* and *California as I Saw It*. Currently, he is engaged in editing the monumental *Guide* to the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library.

The Ageless Relicts. The Story of Sequoia. By Norman Taylor. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1962. 115 pp. $3.95.) Reviewed by Francis P. Farquhar.

Dr. Taylor, botanist and horticulturist—and New Yorker—presents certain "snippets of history," as he calls them, about the California Big Tree, going into unusual byways. The story of the discovery of the Calaveras Grove has often been told, but Dr. Taylor has followed up the ruthless exploitation of its treasures with detailed accounts of the exhibitions of the early 1850's that astonished even the sophisticated inhabitants of New York, Boston, and London. In this way he links the great trees with such diverse characters as P. T. Barnum, James Gordon Bennett, Prince Albert, and the Duke of Wellington. The story of the exhibitions in New York and London is alone enough to win our "forgiveness for adding to the literature of the *Sequoia*." The poor unwitting Duke of Wellington is tied posthumously to the unfortunate nomenclature that has caused trouble ever since a British botanist, in a burst of patriotism, brought him into the picture. Dr. Taylor's comments on this are worth the price of admission, as Barnum might have said. More than a mere "snippet" is the chapter in which botanist Asa Gray's address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1872 is discussed.

The accusation of excessive greed as the prime motive for destroying some of the finest specimens of the Sequoia immediately upon its discovery is perhaps overdone. To some of those who participated in the exploitation, it must have seemed worthwhile in the cause of education. After all, not everyone could travel to the distant Sierra to behold the "vegetable monsters" in their natural setting, so why not bring samples to an eager public? Yet Dr. Taylor's emphasis on greed may at least serve to point a moral for the present day. We are in constant need of admonition against wanton destruction of natural beauty and grandeur. Therefore we thank Dr. Taylor for that admonition and for the careful research that has made his little book a scholarly contribution to the story of Sequoia, past and present, as well as one full of amusement.

For the sake of accuracy, a few minor errors are noted. The Walker Party of 1833 certainly did not see the *Mariposa* Grove; they were on the other side of the Merced River and saw either the Tuolumne Grove or the Merced Grove. White-barked pine is never associated with the Sequoia: it is a timberline tree. San Francisco was not entirely a "den of iniquity": benevolent societies and the California Academy of Science flourished, as well as schools and churches. "Spitzbergen" and "quarternary" are misspellings (I have made the same mistake myself—long ago). To the excellent bibliography should be added Fry, Walter, and John R. White, *Big Trees* (Stanford, Calif., 1938) and Stewart, George W., *Big Trees of the Giant Forest* (San Francisco, 1930).

Francis P. Farquhar, a trustee and past president of the California Historical Society, received his A.B. degree from Harvard College. An authority on the Sierra Nevada, Mr. Farquhar is the author of *Place Names of the High Sierra* and of *Yosemite, the Big Trees and the high Sierra: A Selective Bibliography.*

Edward Kern and American Expansion. By Robert V. Hine. Yale Western Americana Series, I. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962. 180 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Nicholas P. Hardeman.

Professor Hine's volume is not the first to be devoted to the life of "Ned" Kern, but it will doubtless be the last. The job of research was thorough, all the known sources on Kern's travels having been utilized. Documentation is quite adequate, and the bibliographical essay gives an excellent picture of the source material, its nature and location. Although much of the information in the work has been previously published in secondary accounts, much is also new. Not the least of the book's virtues is the section containing more than fifty illustrations by the brothers Edward and Richard Kern. Though not highly interpretive, this volume is literate history written in an extremely colorful and engaging style. The occasional literary license will delight far more readers than it will offend. Some minor criticisms should be noted, mainly involving points of view. Perhaps Edward's brothers, Benjamin and Richard, deserve inclusion in the title, since considerable writing is devoted to them; half of the illustrations are by Richard. Expressions such as the "Scotch-Irish merchant with a haughty Polish strain" (p. 40) must be challenged. For a volume on a widely traveled cartographer, the absence of a map is conspicuous.

Kern, whose epilepsy may have made him a refugee from Philadelphia society, first went West on Frémont's third expedition which he served as artist and scientist. He sketched, collected scientific specimens, and acquired a thorough knowledge of topography and cartography from Frémont. After the Bear Flag uprising; he commanded Sutter's Fort, sent relief to the Donner Party and to

Archibald Gillespie, and watched Frémont head for a court martial by defying General Kearny. Kern's scientific know-how, acquired on this trip, won his election to the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences and determined the course of his future. He served with distinction on four subsequent assignments: the disastrous fourth expedition of Frémont, the Ringgold-Rodgers and Brooke scientific expeditions into far Pacific waters, and with the Topographical Engineers of Frémont during the Civil War.

Following the trail or sail of Edward Meyer Kern, one quickly encounters famous names in American history—Frémont, Walker, Bill Williams, Sutter, Carson, Commodore Perry, and Townsend Harris, to name a few. For fifteen years Kern fingered the pulse of one of history's main arteries and made noteworthy contributions to its flow. Yet, despite several geographical features which bear his name, his accomplishments have been accorded little acclaim. Of the third and fourth Frémont expeditions, the impact of Kearny on the former, and carnage on the latter, dampened the publicity which would have brought fame to Edward. A like fate, caused by querulous commanders, a typhoon, and America's Civil War, befell the accounts of the Pacific expeditions. His irregular commission under Frémont in 1861, shortly before his death, was only a consistent conclusion to this pattern of obscurity. Nor did his luck change until a century after his death when he acquired a first-rate biographer who has brought long overdue recognition to Kern's vital services to the nation.

NICHOLAS P. HARDEMAN, a doctoral graduate from the University of California, Berkeley, is an associate professor and chairman of the history department at Long Beach State College.

Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System. By David F. Ferris. University of California Publications in Education, Volume 14. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. 149 pp. $3.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

John Gage Marvin, an alumnus of Harvard Law School, arrived in San Francisco, February 8, 1850, a member of "The California Gold Mining Company of Philadelphia," on board the packet ship *Europe*, after an arduous voyage of seven months. Born in the village of LeRaysville, Pennsylvania, in 1815, Marvin received a more-than-average education as a youth and spent three years in liberal arts at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut.

In 1840, he accepted the principalship of Athens Academy, located not twenty miles from his birthplace in the small town of Athens. His brief tenure as head of the academy was highly successful and under his supervision the institution "was greatly improved." In January, 1842, he resigned his position and spent six months in Europe before returning in the fall to enroll at Harvard Law School. Seven terms later, after rigorous study under Joseph Story, Simon Greenleaf, and Charles Sumner, he graduated with the bachelor of laws degree in June, 1844, and was appointed to the librarianship of the Dane Law Library. Two years later he resigned in order to pursue without interruption "the great scholarly enterprise of his career," the completion of his *Legal Bibliography*. In February, 1847, two hundred copies of the work were published by T. and W. Johnson Company, Philadelphia.

Nettled by the lack of his success in the East, on hearing the news of the discovery of gold in California, Marvin made arrangements for the sea voyage to "Eldorado." On reaching San Francisco, he spent two months trying to establish a law practice. But with spring, Marvin headed toward the gold fields, and with several associates established the town of Empire City on the Tuolumne River. Not long after, he was elected a justice of the peace—three months in California and a judge!

Judge Marvin's subsequent activities led him into becoming the publisher of the Sonora *Herald*. Although that venture never prospered as he had hoped, it created for him a wider reputation as a man of substance and importance. Not least among his involvements was his active participation in the Mariposa Indian uprising, a matter dealt with in this book at some length.

Dr. Ferris, a member of the Occidental College faculty, however, concentrates in this brief book on Judge Marvin's involvement with the founding of public education in California. When Governor Peter H. Burnett proclaimed the first election for superintendent of public instruction, October 7, 1850, Marvin became an active candidate. Perhaps he was motivated by his residence in Massachusetts where he had witnessed the remarkable accomplishments of Horace Mann and that state's quest for common schools. When the ballots were in, Marvin won the post as California's first superintendent of public instruction by a margin of 707 votes—and he had carried Tuolumne County where he resided by heavy margins.

During his tenure of office, Marvin prepared three annual reports. The essence of these important documents are dutifully detailed in three chapters in this book—indeed, chapters which are the very marrow of the contents. Marvin was a staunch advocate of the proposition of state support for public education. Thwarted by an obstinate coalition in the legislature, much that Marvin advocated was tempered in enabling legislation, but the principle he espoused to the legislature resulted in the adoption of the "*first efficient legislation* in reference to the support and organization of common schools" in California.

Defeated for a second term, Judge Marvin's few remaining years witnessed an abrupt eclipse of his political and personal fortunes. Suffering from tuberculosis, he took the steamer to Honolulu, disembarking on December 1, 1857. On December 10, he died at the age of forty-two.

And what were Marvin's contributions to the founding of California's public school system? He persuaded the legislature to establish a state board of education; made county officials responsible to that board; advocated graded schools, the study of modern languages, and earth sciences; created a central professional educational library; proposed the apportionment of school funds on the basis of attendance, and the adoption of uniform textbooks. Although his success was limited, Marvin laid the foundation on which much of our current state practices rest.

The author has based his highly readable study of Judge Marvin on a personal collection of two scrapbooks and other related materials acquired from Marvin's descendants. Liberal use of contemporary newspapers and of relevant printed sources bolster the basic manuscript material. Perhaps a more thorough investigation of manuscript material in the California Historical Society, the Bancroft, and the State libraries would have materially strengthened the political setting for Marvin's activities during the period 1850-1854. This criticism, however, does not detract from the intrinsic value of this worthy contribution to the history of education in California: the book is a solid addition to the subject literature.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., a recent recipient of a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, is an assistant professor of education and history at the University of California, Los Angeles. Editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*, Dr. Nunis is the author of three volumes on early American California and of numerous articles on Western American history.

Richard Henry Dana, Jr., 1815-1882. By Samuel Shapiro. (East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1961. 251 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by John H. Kemble.

This is the first book-length biography of Richard Henry Dana, Jr., to be published since Charles Francis Adams's two-volume life appeared in 1891. It is based on Samuel Shapiro's doctoral dissertation, written at Columbia University under the direction of Professor David Donald. In making this study, Mr. Shapiro used the wealth of Dana journals and correspondence in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Longfellow House as well as materials in thirty-five related collections in these and other depositories. He also made use of newspapers, periodicals, and books bearing on the subject.

Although undertaken as a fully-rounded biography, Mr. Shapiro has emphasized Dana's political career and his legal practice over other aspects of his life. The voyage to California in 1834-1835, which formed the basis of *Two Years before the Mast*, is covered in a scant two pages of text, and his second visit to California in 1859-1860 is disposed of in a couple of sentences. Almost as an afterthought, there is a final chapter entitled "The history of a book," which deals with the writing of *Two Years before the Mast*, Mr. Shapiro's views as to Dana's aims and intentions in the book, and its subsequent reception. The substance of this chapter appeared in *American Heritage*, Vol. XI, no. 6 (October, 1960) under the title: "With Dana before the Mast."

Mr. Shapiro writes well and his book makes good reading. He has obviously done a thorough job of gathering together the materials for such a study. To this reviewer, Mr. Shapiro's rather patronizing attitude toward Dana was annoying, and his efforts at psychological analysis were unconvincing. For the student of California history the book has little to offer. The reader interested in mid-nineteenth century American political history and in Dana himself will find this a useful and important book.

John H. Kemble, professor of history at Pomona College, is a specialist in Western maritime history. A frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, Professor Kemble is the author of the *Panama Route, 1848-1869*, and of *San Francisco Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History*.

Island In Time: The Point Reyes Peninsula. By Harold Gilliam. Photographs by Philip Hyde. Foreword by Stewart L. Udall. (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1962. 87 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

On a clear day dwellers by the Golden Gate can look northwest across its swirling tides and see faintly outlined the bold headlands of Point Reyes. It forms the westerly tip of a hundred square mile peninsula with a striking variety of terrain, flora, and wild life. It seems a land apart whose sea winds and wild, deserted moors give it an eerie air. Even its climate varies, with chill winds and fogs near the Point while just eastward over the wooded Inverness Ridge, Olema and Bear valleys enjoy a far milder temperature. Fortunately it lies somewhat removed from the main highways and so has escaped their frenetic din. It has had to be sought for itself, and now this book tells why this countryside is so beloved by those who know it.

The Sierra Club's publications rate highly, and *Island In Time* should enhance their reputation. The plates have caught both the beauty and the *genius loci* of the peninsula. Many sentences of Harold Gilliam's prose come close to poetry, yet he includes all the details one might seek in a guidebook but with a style and spirit never found in one.

The daemon of the narrative—one can hardly term it the hero—is that great earth rift, the San Andreas Fault. Responsible for most of California's major earthquakes, it forms the very definite boundary, separating the peninsula from the mainland in a nearly straight northwest-southeast line.

Natural law imposed by the fault dictates that the fine redwood groves covering much of the Marin County mainland shall not cross the San Andreas. The damp climate favors them, but *sequoia sempervirens* does not like the granite soils of the peninsula. Only here and there can one find a few redwood migrants. Contrariwise, the ancient dome-topped bishop pines flourish over most of the peninsula but only occasionally venture eastward. Not only is this an "island in time" but an arboreal island as well. Several rare plants found nowhere else in the world thrive here.

If Southern Californians think of the Point Reyes Peninsula as remote, this book will remind them that the region's bed rock granites match no others in California until we reach the Tehachapis, hundreds of miles to the southeast.

Radioactive measurements indicate that the Point Reyes and Tehachapi granites are not only identical but of the same age. Therefore, incredible though it may seem, a respectable claim can be made that the peninsula was once a part of Southern California! True, that was some eighty million years ago. The errant peninsula is still moving northwest at an average rate of two inches a year. In April, 1906, that was accelerated at some points along the San Andreas to twenty feet in a few minutes!

Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, contributes a foreword urging the preservation of this unique bit of California from the bulldozers of the subdividers and other commercialization. Soon after the book's publication, Congress passed and the President signed the Point Reyes National Seashore Bill, which should save most of the area from spoilation.

The very names Drake's Bay and Estero cause Mr. Udall to pose the inevitable question that has long puzzled historians—where did the doughty Elizabethan careen his *Golden Hind?* It is unfortunate that on the same page a picture of an old anchor is entitled "Drake's Anchor." Of course, it is only a picturesque stage prop for no one has ever claimed to have discovered the navigator's anchor, much less *proved* exactly where it was dropped.

Equally irrelevant is Mr. Udall's association of Kit Carson and John C. Frémont with the Point Reyes region. Mr. Gilliam, himself, devotes seven pages to an impartial summary of the controversy over Sir Francis' landing place.

Another slight criticism is that the maps, while pictorially satisfying, are scarcely adequate. Something closer to the U. S. Geological Survey's fine contour maps of the area would have added to the reader's interest. But these are at most minor faults in a well nigh perfect addition to Californiana. It is a "must" for every collector interested in the Pacific Coast.

Dwight L. Clarke, a trustee of the California Historical Society and president of the Zamorano Club, is the author of *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West.*

First Man West: Alexander Mackenzie's Journal of His Voyage to the Pacific Coast of Canada in 1793. Edited by Walter Sheppe. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. 366 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Howard A. Fleming.

Few feats of Western exploration and travel can equal in significance Sir Alexander Mackenzie's expedition across North America to the Pacific in 1793. Accomplished more than a decade before Captains Lewis and Clark planted the American flag at the mouth of the Columbia, this exploit opened the way for the Canadian fur traders to tap the riches of the Oregon Country, and therefore gave Britain one of its strongest claims to that long-disputed region. The effort is all the more remarkable in that it was carried out by a tiny party of half-wild *voyageurs* over whom Mackenzie had little disciplinary power beyond the force of his own personality. More than once there were crises where desertion and disaster seemed imminent, yet in each case Mackenzie's will prevailed. Ultimately he led his men safely from Lake Athabasca up the Peace River, thence tortuously across the continental divide, and down the promising Fraser. When the Fraser became an impossible series of rapids hemmed in by rock cliffs, there followed a demoralizing episode of upstream backtracking, and then a trek by Indian path directly across the coastal mountains to the shores of Bella Coola Inlet. There, on a tidal rock, with vermillion melted in grease, he painted his notice for later comers: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

He then faced the return journey with dangerously depleted stocks of trade goods and other supplies, now fully aware of the length and difficulties of the homeward trip. Lewis and Clark were to face this same problem when they finally concluded that no American vessel was going to contact them at Fort Clatsop. Just as their safe return was a monument to their courage and intelligence, so Mackenzie's return was a monument to his determination and character. On August 24, 1793, he and his ten men arrived at Fort Fork on the Peace River, westernmost outpost of the North West Company, and so brought the great exploratory tour de force to a successful end.

Although Mackenzie's original notes and journals have been lost, a book based on them was published in London in 1801 under the title of *Voyages from Montreal*, in which he described not only the journey to the Pacific but also his 1789 expedition down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean. Numerous other editions of the *Voyages* have since been published, the second appearing as early as 1802, yet the present work is the first effort to present students of Western history with a carefully annotated volume. The editor, Walter Sheppe, assistant professor of biology at Bard College, has performed with a skill that could be envied by many a historian. In preparation for his task he personally followed much of Mackenzie's route, examined Mackenzie sources in the Public Archives at Ottawa, and familiarized himself with the voluminous secondary materials pertaining to the subject. The result is a superb and knowledgeable volume, with an extensive prologue recounting details of Mackenzie's explorations prior to 1792, and an epilogue tracing the great Westerner's later career. Finally, excellent appendices contain a wealth of data regarding Mackenzie's life, the trip, and the provenience of the journal. In the main body the editor has provided identification of routes, campsites, and Indian tribes. Mackenzie's frequent long passages describing compass courses have been set in reduced type, so that they may be quickly bypassed without interrupting the narrative. Those who have plowed through some earlier editions will appreciate this device.

Only occasionally does one sense that Mr. Sheppe is not a professional historian, as in his unorthodox documentation, or in his apparent willingness to accept local tradition or reminiscences uncritically. In neither case do these minor flaws detract significantly from the value of his contribution. He is not to be blamed if his editors did not insist on standard footnote forms, for he reports his sources honestly. Above all, he puts his training as a biologist to good use in his identification of plants and wildlife that were noted by Mackenzie under colloquial or unintelligible names.

It is to be expected that this work will for many years remain the definitive edition of Mackenzie's epic journal. This reviewer hopes that Mr. Sheppe may turn his talent to a sequel dealing with the shorter and earlier trip to the Arctic Ocean, which, had it succeeded in its purpose of providing an easy link with the Pacific, would have eliminated the economic or historical necessity for the trip recorded in the present volume.

Howard A. Fleming, professor of American history and chairman of the history department at San Fernando Valley State College, is author of *Canada's Arctic Outlet*.

Probing the American West: Nineteen Papers From the Santa Fe Conference. Edited by K. Ross Toole, John Alexander Carroll, A. R. Mortensen, and Robert M. Utley, with an Introduction by Ray A. Billington. (Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962. 216 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Jack D. Forbes.

In October, 1961, some three hundred *aficionados* gathered in Santa Fe for the first Conference on the History of Western America held since 1929. The assemblage included scholars and laymen of diverse backgrounds who attended sessions dealing with topics ranging from "Ethnohistory" to "Portrayal of the West in Fine Arts." Of the some twenty-six presentations at the conference, nineteen are reproduced in *Probing the American West.*

As a participant in the Santa Fe conference, this writer can testify to the quality of the papers and to the general success of the gathering. It was a stimulating experience to be in attendance, and it is fortunate that the Museum of New Mexico saw fit to preserve the majority of the papers for posterity.

It would be impossible to review each of the articles contained in *Probing the American West;* however it may be feasible to at least convey something of the diversity which they represent. One of the most interesting papers was John Ewer's study entitled "Mothers of the Mixed-Bloods: The Marginal Woman in the History of the Upper Missouri." The subject of Native American-European race mixture has, of course, been long neglected; and it is encouraging to read an objective study of such matters. The role of the native woman in American history has also been frequently overlooked, and Mr. Ewer's study may help to offset that tendency. Other native subjects receive considerable attention in *Probing the American West:* the Northern Cheyenne, the Comanche, the Indian-fighting cavalry, and the influence of native themes upon American operas.

Perhaps the most valuable contributions stemming from the conference were historiographical in nature: France Scholes' discussion of the historiography of the Spanish Southwest, Dale Morgan's analysis of the value of the overland diary, Gilbert Fite's presentation on "Untapped Sources of Western Agricultural History," and Savoie Lottinville's challenging discussion of "Unfinished Tasks in

Western History." These presentations, taken together, illustrate the great amounts of work which still remain to be done in Western history. They should provide the young scholar with insight into the contributions which he can make in the future.

The one regrettable aspect of the conference and of *Probing the American West* stems from the fact that although the boundaries between the formal disciplines were breached temporarily, little interdisciplinary integration actually occurred. Notably absent from the published work are papers of an archaeological, sociological, or anthropological nature (although several papers are ethnohistorical). It is this writer's hope that in the future the conferences on Western America can truly integrate all those disciplines with contributions to make towards a better understanding of the region. Nevertheless, it is to be emphasized that the Santa Fe conference was far more interdisciplinary than the average scholarly meeting, and *Probing the American West* presents the reader with a much greater spectrum of viewpoints and subjects than does the usual postconference publication. The editors are certainly to be congratulated.

Jack D. Forbes, author of *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* and of numerous articles on Western American history, has recently been awarded a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship. Currently, Dr. Forbes is an assistant professor of history at San Fernando Valley State College.

The Pony Express. By M. C. Nathan and W. S. Boggs. Collectors Club Handbook No. 15. (New York, The Collectors Club, 1962. 105 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Henry H. Clifford.

This book is actually two separate and distinct articles: *Pony Express—Its Postal History* by Mel C. Nathan (pages 3-65) and *Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Pony Express Stamps 1861-65* by Winthrop S. Boggs. The former will be of great interest to all lovers of Western history, the latter only to the philatelic specialist.

The Pony Express was part and parcel of that epic period of American history embracing almost the entire nineteenth century, from the Lewis & Clark Expedition in the early eighteen hundreds to the capture of Geronimo and the last of the Indians Wars toward the close of the century. As in most epic periods, facts have become exaggerated over the years until they are more fancy than fact; and today the average American (and many a European) has a very distorted idea of what the Pony Express set out to do and what it accomplished. Then, too, there are those who claim that the original founders single-handedly ran the Pony Express during its entire lifetime, with no help from other express companies.

At this point we should pause a moment to clarify just what we mean by Pony Express insofar as this book is concerned. Express companies became established in California in the summer of 1849 for the primary reason that the U. S. Post Office did not provide adequate service, particularly to the more isolated mining camps; nor did the U. S. P. O. provide any insurance for the conveyance of valuable letters or gold dust. The private express companies, many of whom were more properly individual expressmen, satisfied this public need and as a result prospered. Many of them operated on horseback, and so could be considered as pony expresses. Many of them were known as pony expresses, either because that was part of their name or because they operated that way. But of the many true pony expresses, only one is cherished by the American public as symbolic of winning the West—and that was the Pony Express formed by the freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and operated under the name of the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express between April 3, 1860, and November 20, 1861.

The Pony Express apparently kept few official records, and those few became widely scattered after the company ceased operations. Because of that absence of official records, the story of the Pony Express has over the years become quite confused. This record has been pieced together in a most scholarly manner by Mel C. Nathan. The various chapters first appeared in *Western Express,* the research bulletin of the Western Cover Society, ably edited by Mr. Nathan. Comments, criticisms, corrections and suggestions were then invited from the members of the society. Mr. Nathan then sifted all that material and rewrote his original chapters as they now appear. This fascinating story is based on facts—known covers (envelopes or letters) carried by the Pony Express, advertisements in contemporary newspapers, and what few documents have survived the ravages of the past hundred years.

HENRY H. CLIFFORD is a trustee and second vice-president of the California Historical Society, also a trustee of the Southwest Museum and the Book Club of California. Mr. Clifford has formed one of the major collections of Western Postal History and for six years, 1951-56, was editor of *Western Express* referred to above. More recently he edited the *Westerners Brand Book, Number 9.*

California Imprints, 1833-1862: A Bibliography. Edited by Robert Greenwood. Compiled by Seiko June Suzuki and Marjorie Pulliam and the Historical Records Survey. (Los Gatos, The Talisman Press, 1961. 524 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by John Swingle.

Since the proof of the pudding lies in the eating (rather than in the tasting), retrospective reviews for bibliographies and other works of reference would seem to be in order. Too often reviews of bibliographies just off the press are marked by huzzahs soon to be regretted, or by carping at defects which turn out to be, in use, miniscule.

A case in point is *California Imprints, 1833-1862,* compiled by Seiko June Suzuki and Marjorie Pulliam, and edited (with resurveys of a number of existing collections) by Robert Greenwood. For a year the reviewer has marked his use of this bibliography, knowing that he would review it; and the hundreds of times it has been used have each given proof of its excellence.

California Imprints fills a basic need. It is a useful tool for librarians, collectors, booksellers, and scholars, without, in my opinion, favoring one or another.

And its purpose is clear. It seeks to record, by date of printing, publications in California from 1833 through 1862, with certain exceptions (which vary somewhat for the periods 1833-1845, 1846-1850, and 1851-1862, the restrictions for admission growing more restrictive), with everything but newspapers, periodicals, maps, lithographs, lettersheets, legal forms, and documentary imprints after the first session of the California legislature for the second period. For the period 1851-1862, documentary imprints, playbills, sheet music, menus, invitations, and election flyers are additionally excluded.

The work also records locations in public institutions and in one great private library, that of Thomas W. Streeter. It has been criticized because the holdings of some libraries were not resurveyed. However, it was the purpose of the bibliography, in the editor's words, "to record all of the known imprints" and not all the known copies; and the constructive attitude seems to be to eagerly await the "supplement to this volume [which] may be prepared at some future date."

California Imprints also contains two valuable appendices: one of California copyrights, 1851-1862, and the other of California printers and publishers, 1833-1862. There is also an index, which the reviewer might have called sketchy had he reviewed the book immediately upon publication, but which has proved entirely adequate in use.

In addition, the reviewer would like to mention one feature which he has not seen noted. In his resurveys, Greenwood has compiled and added much explanatory material on many of the imprints. He has used the basic sources, principally Cowan, but he has also added much by his own researches, which he modestly fails to mention in his preface. In many cases, his words are the definitive descriptive account of an imprint's contents.

Thus this reviewer greets this bibliography—a little belatedly perhaps but more truly—with acclamation.

JOHN SWINGLE, owner of the Alta California Bookstore in Berkeley, is both a well-known bibliographer and collector of rare books.

José Yves Limantour v. The United States. By Kenneth M. Johnson. Famous California Trials Series. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1961. 82 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by John A. Hawgood.

The remarkable Limantour case is once again surveyed and appraised by Mr. Johnson in this little book, the promising start of a new series on famous California trials to be published by the enterprising Dawson ménage, to whom we are so much indebted for the preservation and recirculation of so many priceless pieces of old Californiana. The Limantour case was a *cause célèbre* of the 1850's and even in that gaudy decade José Yves Limantour was an outstandingly spectacular figure on the Golden Coast. He had arrived early in California, reaching her shores via the shipwreck of the bark *Ayacucho* on October 26, 1841, only two years after the advent of an equally picturesque adventurer, John Augustus

Sutter, and in the very year of the visit of Limantour's compatriot, Duflot de Mofras. Limantour, like Sutter, obtained an extensive grant of land from Governor Micheltorena, who seems to have been unusually susceptible to the blandishments of European adventurers with courtly manners and unlimited self-confidence. Limantour, unlike Sutter, made his grant (of 1843) appear much more substantial than it actually had been when he sought to substantiate it in the United States courts between 1853 and 1858. Mr. Johnson examines the evidence placed before the commission in 1853 and before the district court in 1856 and also that which caused Judge Hoffmann, on November 19, 1858, to say that fraud had been "found everywhere" in the claim. Despite the undoubted existence of bribed witnesses and forged documents—and who could have been responsible for either if it were not Limantour or his agents?—Mr. Johnson thinks that "though fraudulent is the word universally used to describe Limantour's claims," yet "I would use the word contrived" (p. 74). Here the Limantour case rests for the present, but we are unlikely to have heard the last of it, for Mr. Johnson, though ingenious, is not always convincing.

John A. Hawgood, professor of modern history and chairman of the School of History at the University of Birmingham in England, is a specialist in California and Western American history. His latest book, *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California*, was recently published by The Huntington Library.

The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli in New Spain, 1771-1779. By Bernard E. Bobb. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1962. 313 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Theodore E. Treutlein.

"It is somewhat surprising," writes Dr. Bobb in his Introduction, "that so few studies have been published of individual viceroys who served the Spanish Crown in the New World . . ." The reviewer suggests that the dirth of writing on viceroys is regrettable but not so surprising in view of the enormous amount of research which is necessary to produce a study as excellent as is this one on Bucareli.

Here is a figure, well-known in North America probably because of his relationship to the California story, whose meaning has been distorted through the excessive praise heaped upon him by writers less critical and less informed than our author. Now we have a work on Bucareli's viceregency which is authoritative because the writer demonstrates a sense of history, a fine writing ability, and sound judgment in the presentation of his subject.

It is appropriate to note Dr. Bobb's own expression of the historians' interest when he writes: "Historians are more deeply concerned with significance than with any other facet of their craft, and to them significance means, most importantly, an understanding of, and an explanation for, what follows as the result of an event or situation" (p. 85). This view of history is followed in the plan of the book, for Bucareli's career as viceregent is placed in its setting in a series of masterful chapters on the viceroyalty itself, on the church, defense, interior provinces, California colonization, mining, finance, and in a general summing up.

Some items of special interest are: the degree to which the Viceroy guarded the *patronato* rights of the Crown and how this attitude anticipated that of the Nineteenth Century Liberals; the militia system as introduced in Bucareli's time to strengthen the empire after the Seven Years' War and how this system related to the praetorian tradition in Mexico; the disease factor at Veracruz in its relationship to the strength of the armed forces; and the Financial Statements, 1771-1778, in the Appendix. Dr. Bobb is acutely conscious of some subjects which had to be omitted or which receive limited treatment, namely justice, trade, public welfare, education, and local government (p. 260).

Perhaps the author is more tentative than he need be in his assessment of the influence of the spirit of the Enlightenment on Bucareli and his time. The truth may be that other writers have in their zeal overemphasized this influence and that Dr. Bobb has not in his careful research been able to sustain their views (p. 15). Also in one particular place the author does less well in telling the story than he could were he not also concerned with providing us with a critique of earlier evaluations of Bucareli. This problem appears in chapter six, "The California Colonization," where it is necessary to reinterpret the facts about Bucareli's role in the settling of California. Probably a consideration of history as it was, history as it was written, and history as it has had to be rewritten is for this chapter a slightly too large order.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN, professor of history at San Francisco State College, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley. A specialist on German Jesuit missionary activity in the Sonoran area of New Spain, and particularly on Father Ignatz Pfefferkorn, Dr. Treutlein has recently edited the journals of Father Joseph Och, s.j., which will soon appear in publication.

The Golden Frontier: The Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart, 1851-1869. Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1962. 310 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson.

Herman Francis Reinhart, as a young lad, emigrated with his German parents to the United States, all seeking opportunity. The family followed a typical pattern of movement for German immigrants, remaining in New York just long enough to obtain the resources to move to a Midwestern farm. On the death of his parents, Reinhart, aged nineteen, struck out with his brother along the Oregon Trail in search of an El Dorado to provide the necessary funds to bolster the marginal farming operation in Illinois. This volume records his reminiscences for the next eighteen years, 1851-1869, while he moved with the mining frontier to Siskiyou County, California, into southern Oregon, back to northern California, then off to the Fraser River mines in British Columbia, back again into Idaho, then to Montana, and finally to the Sweetwater mines near the South Pass in Wyoming. Few participants in western mining rushes left such a lengthy account of their activities, and perhaps none left a record of such a continuous time span and about such a large geographic region. Reinhart engaged in mining only on rare occasions. As a boy he had received little formal education, being trained in vocations for the life of a tradesman. As a jack-of-all trades, he ranched in Oregon, operated saloons, bakeries, and ball alleys in various mining camps, clerked in stores, and hauled supplies with freight wagons in Idaho and Montana; but whatever his activity, his livelihood depended upon a nearby mining development.

This account of his western sojourn is in some ways disappointing for it does not have the validity, or historical accuracy, of a diary written by an eye-witness, nor the reflective evaluation of events associated with the passing scene characteristic of thoughtful reminiscences. As the editor has pointed out, the "odyssey is neither spectacular nor impressive—it is quite ordinary." As a simple fellow Reinhart lived from day to day doing a job, making a living, and visiting with cronies. Memoirs of mining days are usually written not by the common, but by the exceptional man, those who struck it rich or who launched a significant career in politics, law, or engineering; so we are fortunate in having a record of the routine, the less-successful, the less-imaginative man on the mining frontier. The simplicity suggests authenticity and therefore justifies publication.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*, has once again demonstrated his competence, even mastery, as an editor. Where correction of fact has been called for, explanation necessary, or a pertinent bibliographical reference needed, Nunis has supplied it. The editing job is thoroughly adequate without being pedantic. His major contribution is not in the notes, however, but in the prologue where he objectively appraises, and does not overestimate, the importance of the manuscript he is editing, and thereby gives real significance to its publication. The end result is a reference work that all scholars concerned with mining frontiers of the Greater Northwest will need to consult in the future. California readers interested in mining developments in the state during the 1850's will particularly welcome this narrative about events in the northern counties of which there are comparatively few accounts.

The University of Texas Press is to be congratulated on the publication of a comprehensive volume. In addition to the lengthy memoir, the publishers have made room for a foreword, a prologue, an epilogue, an appendix listing the events in Reinhart's life chronologically, a thoroughly adequate bibliography, and most important, an elaborate index of thirty-five pages. Some fifteen illustrations and six maps are also included. Thus, the editor and the press have combined talents and resources to erect a magnificent, uncommon monument to the memory of Herman Francis Reinhart, an unpretentious, but human man.

W. Turrentine Jackson, professor of history at the University of California, Davis, is a foremost authority on Western American history. A frequent contributor to scholarly historical journals, Dr. Jackson is the author of *Wagon Roads West* and coauthor of *When Grass Was King*. His latest study, *Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp*, has recently been published by the University of Arizona Press.

Formative Years in the Far West: A History of Standard Oil Company of California and Predecessors through 1919. By Gerald T. White. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. 694 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by John B. Rae.

It is safe to say that more history, good and bad, has been written about the Standard Oil Company than about any other business concern which has ever existed. Dr. White's book definitely belongs in the "good" category. It is a distinguished addition to the scholarly series which has been appearing over the last ten years on the various descendants of John D. Rockefeller's original creation. In each case the company concerned has made its records available to a competent scholar and given him a free hand. The results attest the wisdom of the policy.

This particular volume is more than a history of the Standard Oil Company of California. It provides a comprehensive and detailed survey of the founding of the oil industry in the state, a story which goes back to the 1850's. Standard itself appeared on the California scene in 1878, engaged in marketing eastern petroleum products, chiefly illuminants, since the domestic production of these early days was limited to oils which were suitable for few purposes other than fuel.

The consolidation of the Rockefeller subsidiary and various local companies into California Standard, which came into existence in 1906, is an elaborately detailed story which cannot be condensed here. Suffice it to say that in working it out Dr. White has assembled in an orderly and coherent pattern material indispensable to the student of the history of California, the history of American business, and the history of technology. There is even the inevitable Californian entanglement of conflicting land claims. The reader should be advised that he will not find these topics in separate compartments: they have been skillfully interwoven into a single story.

Given the size and the scope of the book, only a few of its features can be selected for comment. One, conspicuously, is the relationship of California Standard to its competitors in California and the Rockefeller empire in general. Here it is quite clear that, despite some complaints, the California company was never in the monopolistic position of its Eastern parent. Union Oil and several smaller concerns were always vigorously competitive, even before the explosive expansion of the California oil business in the twentieth century. The author has established two very interesting points in this connection. First, Californians generally were indifferent to the antitrust suit against the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and evinced little hostility toward its local subsidiary. He suggests, and this certainly seems plausible, that antimonopoly sentiment in California was so concentrated on the Southern Pacific as to make other targets unimportant. Second, there is ample evidence that the management of California Standard welcomed its forcible separation from the parent structure and the opportunity to develop an independent business life.

Innumerable colorful figures appear in these pages, some already prominent in California's past, others whose contribution to the state is now pointed out for the first time. They belong here, yet their number suggests one criticism which can be made of the book. The mass of detail is essential to the narrative, but it is frequently overpowering. It would have been helpful if the summary at the end of the concluding chapter had been enlarged.

Nevertheless the net result is a major scholarly contribution. There are other industries in California whose story needs to be told in this thorough and professional manner. I earnestly hope that this achievement by Dr. White and the Standard Oil Company of California will inspire others to do likewise.

John B. Rae, a specialist in American economic history, is professor of history at Harvey Mudd College. Author of *American Automobile Manufacturers: The First Forty Years* and coauthor of *The United States in World History*, Professor Rae is currently engaged in a research project on the American aircraft industry.

Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California: Volume I—The Northern Roads. By David F. Myrick. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1962. 453 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Gilbert H. Kneiss.

The year 1929 marked the beginning of the end for many dreams, some reasonable enough, but others completely fantastic. In the latter category might be placed the Mid-Pacific Railroad project, a somewhat farfetched scheme of one Andrew Stevenson, a railroad man from the East. Stevenson planned to weld together some half dozen Nevada short line railroads (some narrow-gauge) and with a few miles of new construction plus some trackage rights on the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe, come up with a thousand-mile Y-shaped system connecting Southern California with Reno on the west and Battle Mountain on the east.

Most of the lines Stevenson wanted were tottering on the brink of financial disaster and their managements were willing to listen to any plan offering hope of survival. Stevenson was successful in interesting a large mining company in the venture and plans for the system were very thoroughly and seriously researched by the joint staffs. A dubious project at best, the Depression erased all hope of success, and when Stevenson succumbed to the strain in 1933 the Mid-Pacific Railroad project passed out of the picture with him. Few ever know about it and it was forgotten until David Myrick dug out the story for his new book: *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California, Volume I.*

Myrick's two volume work is intended to cover every railroad that ever operated in the state of Nevada, *Volume I*, now available, covering the northern portion of the state. The work thus combines the features of a reference book with those of a history and, of necessity, covers much that has been done before. However, this does not detract from its merit as there is plenty which is new and not previously recorded such as the Mid-Pacific scheme mentioned above.

Outstanding in this respect is Myrick's presentation of the railroad complex which centered around Tonopah and Goldfield in the early years of the present century. People were building railroads like mad to every new mining "strike," and a surprising number of them were completed and operated for varying lengths of time, the Tonopah & Goldfield lasting until 1947. Myrick manages to make sense of this muddled situation.

Railroads of Nevada covers, in its first volume, the history of forty-three railroads, beginning with the Central Pacific, and covers them in absorbing style. The research required was obviously prodigious, Myrick having taken a year's leave of absence from his position in the president's office of the Southern Pacific to track down the details of his story. Some five hundred photographs were also acquired in the process and grace the text, not only railroad and equipment pictures but also period shots of the old mining towns and camps in their heyday, effectively recreating the atmosphere in which his railroads were born and lived, and most of them died. These photographs are beautifully reproduced in the usual Howell-North standards. A large folding map of the whole territory is included in a cover pocket, supplemented by many small explanatory maps throughout the text.

David Myrick is to be congratulated on this book. It is complete, well written, beautifully illustrated, and handsomely turned out. No one interested in Nevada railroad history can be without it.

Gilbert H. Kneiss, a specialist in Western American railroads, is Assistant to the President, The Western Pacific Railroad Company.

Rebel of the Rockies. By Robert G. Athearn. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962. 395 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Donald Duke.

Men of every profession made the West, but whether they sold carbines or coffins or hauled gold ore or dancing girls, they had to ride the Denver & Rio Grande if they traveled in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado.

The history of Colorado, through good times and bad, from rip-roaring, gun-packing mining days to the more sedately budding modern era of industrialization has paralleled the development of the "Rebel [Railroad] of the Rockies."

Before the first rails reached Denver in 1870, General William J. Palmer had dreamed of a railroad all the way to Mexico City. On July 29, 1871, his narrow gauge Denver & Rio Grande Railway broke ground and headed south to Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and the coal fields of Canon City. As the rails continued south, the D&RG was thwarted from reaching the final goal of Mexico City by a battle with the Santa Fe for rights over Raton Pass. Turning its rails back into hills, the D&RG soon laced most of Colorado and Utah with its tracks.

Primarily a mining railroad at the start, its destinations were multiple and widely dispersed. The roaring towns of Leadville, Canon City, Creede, Durango, and Silverton were along its route. So were the scenic picture postcard spots of Royal Gorge, Marshall Pass, and the Black Canyon of the Gunnison.

Rebel of the Rockies is a long awaited scholarly and thoroughly researched history of one of America's most engaging and fascinating railroads. The volume received the blessing of the management of the railroad, and the company archives were opened to the author. Professor Athearn took full advantage of this rare opportunity and left nary a historical incident undocumented. One has the impression not only of completeness, but a greater attention to incident, anecdote, and character.

The story itself ranges from the earliest beginnings to the various fights for survival as other railroads built into the region to tap the rich mineral wealth and attempted to run the D&RG out of business or buy them out. Woven into the narrative is the story how Gould milked the treasury of the D&RG to finance his Western Pacific extension to the Pacific, plus the colorful stories of the great Colorado figures as Governor Evans, David Moffat, and many others whose names are all but unknown today.

In our more unsophisticated age of pictorial history books, the volume lacks of course the display of pictorial art of tiny coal-burning steam locomotives smoking their way through deep canyons and over high mountain grades. But it is, after all is said and done, a more serious history concerned with facts, economics, and policies rather than local color and photographic romance. The volume is handsomely furnished by The Yale University Press in a format of more than ordinary sumptuousness.

Robert G. Athearn is professor of history at the University of Colorado. He is studious, highly respected, and a well-known historian of Rocky Mountain Americana. His writings on the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad have graced the pages of the *Colorado Magazine*, the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and the University of Colorado Studies in History.

The author fails to mention the tracks which form a forty-five mile link between Durango and Silverton, and provide the railroad with the most profitable passenger train in the United States. Narrow gauge, steam powered, and with wooden equipment dating from the last century, the *Silverton* chugs through the colorful canyon of the Animas River in the southwesterly corner of Colorado. The train crawls along with barely enough room for its three-foot tracks, while passengers grip the window sills and gaze with fascinated awe at the lofty, jagged peaks of the San Juan Mountains soaring high above the water's edge. To us of the modern generation, this train is the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad of today and the "Rebel of the Rockies."

DONALD DUKE, a student of Western railroads, is the author of *Pacific Electric Railway* and of *Southern Pacific Steam Locomotives*. His latest volume, *Santa Fe: Steel Railways through California*, has recently been published.

A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858. By Edward C. Kemble. Edited by Helen Harding Bretnor. (Los Gatos, The Talisman Press, 1962. 398 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Edwin H. Carpenter.

Anyone who has had any interest in the early years of journalism and literature in California has encountered the excellent contemporary account of the state's first newspapers by Edward C. Kemble. It has not previously been easily available, and thanks are due to The Talisman Press for bringing out this edition, made all the more useful by the modern editor. Mrs. Bretnor, long known to users of the Bancroft Library as a charming and helpful staff member there, has added to Kemble's text an index by city of publication, a summary index by county, extensive title cross references, and a brief biographical dictionary of the early newspapermen. All these make Kemble's pioneer account more usable, and the biographical notes supplement his references to the men. To the entry for U. B. Freaner it might be added that he was the editor and publisher of the San Bernardino *Patriot* in 1861.

EDWIN H. CARPENTER, who received the Ph.D. degree in history from the University of California at Los Angeles, is the Western American Bibliographer at The Huntington Library.

Ricardo Flores Magón y su actitud en la Baja California. By Jesús González Monroy. (Mexico City, Editorial Academia Literaria [Available at Dawson's Book Shop], 1962. 182 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Lowell L. Blaisdell.

For the past half-century Ricardo Flores Magón's peculiar Liberal Party movement, unfolding in Baja California in 1911 simultaneously with Madero's overthrow of the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship in mainland Mexico, has been the focus of acrimonious disputation in certain Mexican scholarly circles as well as among survivors of the great revolutionary years. In the last decade, the subject has elicited a considerable amount of research and reappraisal. The above work, first of a documentary series, "Testimonios documentales de Mexico," with Antonio Pompa y Pompa as editor, is the most recent contribution. On the whole, it is disappointing.

The author, who played a worthy secondary part in the Mexican revolutionary events from 1910 to 1920, possesses a certain degree of personal acquaintance with the Liberal Party's Baja California action of 1911, and assays to give his readers a first-hand account of happenings. For an important participant in an historical event, this is a valid undertaking that may result in a valuable contribution, even if the participant relies solely on his own recollections. Unfortunately, however, this is not true of González Monroy's narrative, because, during the crucial period in the Flores Magón movement, from early March to early June, the writer, in a desire for revolutionary unity, was in the vicinity of El Paso supporting the Maderists. Having, after all, to rely on conventional sources, the author should have used the recent scholarly work on the subject, including that which tends to support his own viewpoint: viz., the Magónists were intransigent revolutionaries, but not filibusters in the service of American peninsular imperialism. Instead his information derives from very incomplete newspaper sources and occasional details picked up immediately after the events. In consequence, his account is at times very misleading: this reviewer counted at least thirteen factual errors, a number of which were trivial, but a few extremely important; seventeen places where, in the absence of available information, a misleading impression is conveyed; and a dozen or more significant omissions.

The book has any number of merits. The author provides curious and sometimes important details concerning the split between Maderism and Flores Magón in February and March, 1911, and the circumstances of the effort, partly successful, to induce the California Magónists to surrender without further fighting in June. His leftist-Maderist viewpoint enables him to assess the Liberal movement without the blind prejudice of the Porfiristas or the blind adulation of its partisans. Thus, on the one hand he is able to present effective arguments to show that the upheaval was not in any way intended to be a filibuster, and on the other he shows awareness of Flores Magón's intransigence, fanaticism, and lack of leadership in failing to emulate Madero by going to Mexico. Furthermore, he displays some realization of the dangers inherent in the exile's tendency toward deception.

On the whole, nevertheless, American students interested in the pro-Magónist point of view will find that Mrs. Ethel D. Turner's *Ricardo Flores Magón y el Partido Liberal Mexicano* and especially the relevant chapters of Pablo L. Martínez's *Historia de Baja California* are superior. The author has ready another book, *El Porfirismo y la oposición.* Perhaps it will fill in some of the gaps in the present work.

Lowell L. Blaisdell, a doctoral graduate of the University of Wisconsin and an associate professor of history at Texas Technological College, is the author of *The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911.*

Personal Sketches of California Pioneers I Have Known. By Rockwell D. Hunt. (Stockton, University of the Pacific, 1962 .109 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Clarence F. McIntosh.

"My own generation is ending. Members of no future generation can know the California pioneers I have known," writes Rockwell D. Hunt in the conclusion of this book. "But," he continues, "I may humbly serve as a link between the few I have known and the generation who never saw them." To fulfill this purpose, the author includes sketches of John Bidwell, Moses Schallenberger, Martin C. Briggs, Daniel McLaughlin, Virginia Reed Murphy, William Lewis Manly, Cornelius Cole, Edwin Allen Sherman, John Hyde Braly, Charles Prudhomme, and Emanuel Speegle. Some of these, the author notes, achieved distinction, but "others just as truly embody the pioneer spirit." His technique is a combination of reminiscence and biography. His point of view is sympathetic but not uncritical.

Dr. Hunt, who wrote this book during his ninety-fourth year, drew upon his rich background in research, experience, and memory about California's past. He stresses here themes that may be found in some of his previous works. He points out, for example, that many California pioneers were of high purpose, courage, and honor. They did not, as some writers have alleged, park "their morals on the other side of the Missouri." He concludes, "If the California pioneers I have known are typical of the great body of pioneers . . ., they constituted a noble race of men who have built their lives into the very foundations of our state and nation." But he does not merely reinforce past points of view. His essay on John Bidwell especially contains insight into the nature and character of the man toward the close of his life that does not appear in his earlier biography.

Rockwell D. Hunt, historian, is also a moralist. To be so obviously a moralist, which many historians are but try not to disclose, is no longer in style in historical writing. But the reader who either accepts or understands this will enjoy this well-written volume.

CLARENCE F. MCINTOSH, received his Ph.D. degree from Stanford University. A past president of the Conference of California Historical Societies, Dr. McIntosh is an associate professor of history at Chico State College.

Adolph Sutro—A Biography. By Robert E. Stewart, Jr., and M. F. Stewart. (Berkeley, Howell-North, 1962. 243 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Dudley C. Gordon.

Born in Prussia in a well-to-do Jewish home in 1830, young Adolph Sutro had to forego formal education to take over the management of the family cloth-making factory in Aix-la-Chapelle. This he did successfully until the Sutros fled to Baltimore during the war disturbances of 1848. In 1850 Adolph arrived in San Francisco where he eventually operated several tobacco shops.

When news of the fabulous gold and silver strike in the Comstock Lode at Virginia City, Nevada, reached San Francisco in 1859, young Sutro felt the urge "to see the elephant." The following year he built a reducing mill in the Carson River valley at Dayton some eight miles below and east of Virginia City where he prospered. On his frequent horseback trips up to the mining center he conceived an idea, one which made "sane" men call him Crazy Sutro. He was determined to build a tunnel from the floor of the valley into the heart of Mt. Davidson where the owners of incredibly rich mines were experiencing problems from water and heat as the shafts grew deeper. Sutro believed a tunnel would "at once insure drainage, ventilation, and facilitate the work" of the mines it served—for a consideration.

William Ralston, boss of the Bank of California in San Francisco, and his counterpart in Virginia City, endorsed Sutro's tunnel project after the state of Nevada passed legislation in 1865 granting a right of way for the tunnel, as far as the state had power to do so. The mine owners followed suit by pledging $600,000 toward construction of the tunnel, and agreed to pay a royalty of $2 on every ton of ore extracted after the tunnel reached their mine.

Since the federal government held title to the land, Sutro sought beneficial legislation in Washington. There was no opposition, and in 1866 President Johnson signed an act later known as the Sutro Tunnel Act which granted a right of way for a tunnel "to Adolph Sutro, his heirs and assigns." One of these rights required that the mine owners of the Comstock must pay a royalty to owners of the tunnel.

About this time Sutro possibly became a bit overconfident. He let it be known that, upon completion, the tunnel would earn between three and six million dollars annually, and that the population of Virginia City and Gold Hill would move to the tunnel company land at the mouth of the tunnel in the rapidly growing town of Sutro. He gave the impression that everything good and prosperous on the Comstock Lode would drain into the tunnel company (and treasury). Furthermore, he engineered a resolution through the Nevada legislature which asked federal aid for the tunnel project! Almost immediately, "the roof fell in." Ralston and Sharon might have figured that they could have outwitted a former tobacconist in financial dealings, but a project largely financed by a friendly Congress was a different story. Thereafter, Ralston and Sharon used their considerable skill in blocking Sutro's attempts to raise money in Nevada, San Francisco, New York, and Washington. They began by inducing the mine owners to repudiate their pledges of $600,000.

But the persuasive Sutro was not defeated. Undoubtedly he recalled the motto which had been his lifelong guide, *Labor omnia vincit,* when he called a mass meeting of the Miners Unions in Virginia City and appealed to them. They subscribed $50,000 and many individual miners bought stock in the tunnel company. Now, at last, October, 1869, he was able to begin digging.

During the ten years required to dig the four-mile Sutro Tunnel Adolph Sutro met and survived more obstacles than any one man might be expected to face. So-called friends avoided him. He had to contend with vacillating Congresses, unfriendly Nevada Senators, the impeachment proceedings involving President Johnson, financial crises, a depression and banking house failures, as well as fire, flood, and a war in Europe. Yet, somehow, he got the tunnel dug, but not before he had signed twenty-four mine owners who agreed to pay a $1 royalty on every ton which milled $40 per ton or under. The $2 rate still held for richer ore.

By the time the tunnel was completed after ten years of construction, the mines were producing low-grade ores. Powerful pumps and fans had been developed which controlled most of the drainage and ventilation; foreign bankers holding mortgages on the tunnel property took over the operation of the tunnel and squeezed Sutro out of control. The tunnel functioned for fifty years thereafter, but it was never a great money maker.

The first mention of Adolph Sutro, to many Americans, occurred in a passing reference in Mark Twain's *Roughing It* wherein Sutro was reported to have made a speech on the mismanagement of the mines. The name meant little to the reader, but to others it mean much more. To a thousand miners it meant the Sutro Tunnel, and the tunnel meant jobs. To mine owners it mean "welching" on agreements made in desperation years earlier. To Ralston and Sharon of the Bank of California it meant the possible undermining of a Comstock Lode empire they had built by fair means and foul. To engineers the world over, it meant the completion of a project unique in engineering history. To Sutro, the opening of the tunnel meant the fulfillment of a dream protracted over a nineteen-year period.

Upon being deposed from his position of general superintendent, Sutro sold his stock holdings in the tunnel and went to San Francisco where he eventually acquired much wealth sans contending with scheming bankers. He invested chiefly in San Francisco real estate until he owned one-twelfth of the city. He engaged in numerous philanthropic ventures which provided recreation and entertainment for the citizens of San Francisco. He rebuilt the Cliff House, built the Sutro Baths, built his mansion, provided parks and gardens, led movements which planted more than eighty thousands trees throughout the city, and brought the seals and Seal Rocks under the protection of the city and county of San Francisco.

Of course, a man like Sutro with his great energy, indomitable will, and concern for the welfare of mankind, could not long sit on the side lines when an injustice was being done. Thus, when Collis P. Huntington and the Southern Pacific doubled the streetcar fare from the ferries to the Sutro Baths, he felt the call to action. A polite request for the restoration of the single fare was refused; therefore Sutro built his own line a block from and paralleling the S. P.'s line; Huntington restored the single fare.

Sutro, along with William Randolph Hearst, Ambrose Bierce, and others, helped prevent the S. P. from transferring a $23,000,000 plus interest debt from the company to the federal taxpayers. The government had loaned the money to the Central Pacific thirty years earlier. The railroad had been acquired by the S. P., and some friends of Mr. Huntington were proposing a "re-funding" bill in Washington which would extend the loan for ninety-nine years at one-half of one per cent interest. The taxpayers won.

Dissatisfied with the graft, corruption, and inefficiency of the city government, Sutro, although in poor health, ran for mayor and won.

The Stewarts, husband and wife, have performed a genuine service in writing this welcome biography of a man whose contributions to San Francisco have become part of the heritage of Californians. May many readers enjoy the fruits of their extensive labors. The style is somewhat hampered by the abundance of facts handled; yet it has more vitality than that customarily found in theses.

The volume evolved from Mr. Stewart's doctoral thesis on the early life of Sutro completed at Berkeley in 1958. Since then the couple have diligently worked on the last two decades of Sutro's active life. The early portion was handled admirably. The refunding episode and the mayoralty experience deserve more extensive treatment.

The publishers, Howell-North, have done a most commendable job of bookcraft. They were especially generous in providing so many fine pictures of San Francisco, the Comstock Lode mines and the Sutro Tunnel.

DUDLEY C. GORDON, a graduate of Hobart, Harvard, and Columbia, is an associate professor of English at Los Angeles City College.

Curtis' Western Indians. By Ralph W. Andrews. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1962. 176 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by William E. Holston.

Edward S. Curtis was a dedicated American photographer whose monumental achievement was the publication of his twenty-volume work, *The North American Indian.* Curtis devoted almost three decades of his life to field work among Indian groups, sometimes living with them for weeks to gain their confidence. His patience, understanding, and honesty won for him the respect of every group he encountered. Curtis was able to record secret rituals and tribal lore which had been withheld from previous white enquirers. With his box-like camera, glass plates, and note book, he recorded the American Indian shortly after the frontier had officially vanished (1890). To his everlasting credit, Curtis chose to depict scenes from everyday life in addition to portraying the myriad and varied faces of a vanishing race.

Exhibits of his work in 1905 brought him national recognition for the photographic excellence. The financier J. Pierpont Morgan was persuaded to underwrite Curtis' effort, and a gift of seventy-five thousand dollars enabled Curtis to complete his task. The twenty volumes which resulted contain a wealth of pictures, vocabularies, translations of speeches, prayers, and songs. Acclaim for the first volumes in 1907 was immediate and enthusiastic. President Theodore Roosevelt, a friend and admirer of Curtis, wrote that "Mr. Curtis in publishing this book is rendering a real service . . . to the world of scholarship everywhere." Other reviewers were even more enthusiastic in their praise of *Curtis' Western Indians.*

Unfortunately, only five hundred sets were published and these were often purchased by wealthy collectors at a cost of $3,000 each. Ralph W. Andrews, in *Curtis' Western Indians,* has carefully culled the Curtis volumes and folios of Curtis prints for material. Andrews has chosen to divide his work into two sections: the first contains the story of Edward Curtis; the second section consists of one hundred and sixteen pages of selected photographs with accompaning notes.

The text has been written in a highly readable manner, and footnotes have been avoided. Photographic quality is excellent, and many of the prints have an almost unreal quality. One particularly good example is a misty portrait of the aged, weathered Geronimo. This venerable warrior appears to have been painted with soft strokes of a brush rather than with shades of light and dark upon a glass plate. Another fine Curtis photograph, "The Three Chiefs," catches the spirit of a wind-swept prairie, stretching away to the very limits of human sight. This was a grassland that both the photographer and his subjects were to see vanish in their lifetimes, but Curtis has preserved this one priceless scene for posterity.

There are a few criticisms which might be leveled at the book. The author has neglected to include any footnotes or other forms of reference to his sources. Andrews has also included too many individual portraits to the exclusion of other subjects. One of Curtis' primary purposes was to record the mundane, daily events of Indian life.

Despite these minor blemishes, the book has value as a bibliography, and as a source of information for the historian or ethnologist. It would be of permanent value in the collection of anyone interested in the American Indian.

William E. Holston is currently a teacher of United States history at Boyd High School in Long Beach and an instructor in California history at Compton College.

Architects in America of Catholic Tradition. By Francis W. Kervick. (Rutland, Vermont, Charles E. Tuttle, 1962. 140 pp. No price indicated.) Reviewed by Joseph A. Baird, Jr.

Although any serious art historian would be put off by the pretentious implications of this title, implying that there is such a thing as a "Catholic tradition" in American architecture, he would nevertheless find this a useful book. Like others in the Tuttle series, there are serious editorial weaknesses in the present volume. Its particular value as a reference work (and it consists almost entirely of short biographies of architects) lies in its alphabetical arrangement. This is by no means carefully controlled, as on various pages (e.g., 102, 106, 110, 114, 118, 120, and 122) there are erratic entries—apparently due to the fact that separate card entries were improperly assembled. Plate XXXVI is incorrectly titled. It is quickly visible that this is *not* a view of 1902, nor is it the City Hall of New York, but rather Federal Hall referred to on page 84 of the text. Plate XXVII points up a basic historical misconception of the author, particularly apparent in his two-page Introduction. Kervick's determination to orient all of architecture since Roman times to a "Catholic" (by which he means Roman Catholic) pattern, leads him to a number of exaggerations. Since he can find no well known architects of this "Catholic" tradition before 1780, he calls the fathers and builders of various southwestern American mission churches the "architects" of this pre-Revolutionary period. Documentation is still so limited concerning the exact role of master masons, carpenters, and the relation of spiritual leaders and local craftsmen in these frontier communities in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California that it is premature to assign the modern title of architect to any one of them. His general religious preoccupation also leads Kervick to overlook historically significant designers of pre- and post-Revolutionary times who had as much influence on "Catholic" architecture as Ralph Adams Cram. It is obvious that Kervick's personal sympathies, on the esthetic level, lie with one or another of the various forms of "modern" medieval architecture and the more conservative Renaissance revivals of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Within these limitations he has done some admirable recording of fact for a larger and more stylisticated survey of this period to be done in the future.

Joseph A. Baird, Jr., an associate professor of art at the University of California, Davis, is author of *Time's Wondrous Changes: San Francisco Architecture, 1776-1915* and of *The Churches of Mexico, 1530-1810.*

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Ray Allen Billington in his introduction to *Soldier and Brave: Indian and Military Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York, Harper & Row, 1963. 280 pp. $6.50) states that "The march of the American people westward continues at an ever-accelerating rate, to overflow areas that defied conquest before the advent of better transportation, irrigation farming and air conditioning." Based on the work of the National Park Service, which is conducting the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, this is the first to be published in a series of sixteen volumes. The present work has been designated as Volume XII. Divided in two parts, Part I covers Military and Indian Affairs while Part II contains surveys of one hundred and forty-six sites and buildings eligible for the Registry of National Historic Landmarks. Enhanced with splendid maps, two hundred and thirty-two superb photographs, and a very workable index, it will prove an invaluable tool for the historian or student of the Trans-Mississippi West.

Through the delightful whimsy of the W. W. Robinsons one can now hold the history of a "Big City" in the palm of his hand! *Little History of a Big City: Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. 34 pp. $6.00), printed and designed by Saul and Lillian Marks at their Plantin Press, measures but one-and-a-half by two inches. Delightful color work by Irene Robinson depicts scenes from the Mission Era to the menacing reptilian freeways of the present. Bound in decorated tan boards and green spine, it is a tiny history complete in itself, delightful, and slightly on the fabulous side, but on a most minute scale; it has already become a much sought-for collector's item.

Donald P. Ringler, who is becoming the Californian biographer-historian of Mary Austin, has made available her charming descriptive letters in *One Hundred Miles on Horseback* (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, Plantin Press, 1963. 20 pp. $7.50). The trip from Pasadena to Kern County, California, is related in detail through the facile pen of Mary Austin.

Edwin Markham once stated: "Think of all the Arcadias and Ardens of the world . . . I will show you a duplicate of any one of them in my California of many moods." In *Southern California Gardens: An Illustrated History*, by Victoría Padilla (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1961. Designed by Ward Ritchie. 359 pp. $10.00), the many moods of California are met through the magic of ornamental horticulture. Richly illustrated with one hundred and seventy illustrations, fifteen in full color, this work is a storehouse of information. The reading notes and appendices contain valuable materials on the economics of horticulture in Southern California. The author's father, a noted photographer, discloses a unique empathy with the Southland, comparable to other noted photographers of the Western scene. This is a book which should not go unnoticed by historian or the collector of Southern Californiana.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Manuel P. Servín

BOOKS

ADAMS, KRAMER A. *Covered Bridges of the West: A History and Illustrated Guide—Washington, Oregon, California.* Berkeley, Howell-North, 1963. $5.95

BEEBE, LUCIUS MORRIS, and CHARLES CLEGG. *Virginia & Truckee: A Story of Virginia City and Comstock Times.* Berkeley, Howell-North, 1963. Paper, $1.00

BUCHANAN, WILLIAM. *Legislative Partisanship: The Deviant Case of California.* Berkeley, University of California, 1963. $3.50

BURTON, SIR RICHARD FRANCIS. *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California.* Edited by Fawn M. Brodie. New York, Knopf, 1963. $8.50

DORAN, ADELAIDE LEMERT. *The Ranch that Was Robbins': Santa Catalina Island.* Los Angeles, the author, 1963. $3.50

DOWNEY, JOSEPH T. *The Cruise of the Portsmouth, 1845-1847: A Sailor's View of the Naval Conquest of California.* Edited by Howard Lamar. New Haven, Yale University, 1963. $1.75

DURRENBERGER, ROBERT W., *et. al. California and the Western States.* Northridge, Roberts Publishing Company, 1963. $4.00

EDMONDS, I. G. *Hollywood R. I. P.* Evanston, Illinois, Regency, 1963. $0.50

The First Los Angeles City and County Directory, 1872. Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1963. $17.50

GARRISON, ARLEAN V. *My Children's Home: A History of Murrieta, California.* Murrieta, Author, P.O. Box 216, 1963. $3.89

GONZÁLEZ MONROY, JESÚS. *Ricardo Flores Magón y Su Actitud en la Baja California.* Mexico, Editorial Academia Literaria, 1962. $6.00

HITTELL, THEODORE HENRY. *El Triunfo de la Cruz, the First Ship Built in the Californias.* San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1963. $2.95

JOHNSON, KENNETH M. *The New Almadén Quicksilver Mine.* Georgetown, California, Talisman, 1963. $8.50

JOHNSON, KENNETH M. *The Pious Fund.* Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. $7.50

KEMBLE, EDWARD CLEVELAND. *A Kemble Reader: Stories of California, 1846-1848.* Edited by Fred Blackburn Rogers. San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1963. $8.00 to members; $10.00 to nonmembers

LATTA, ESTELLE. *Controversial Mark Hopkins.* Sacramento, Cothran Historical and Research Foundation, 1963. Apply

MANN, DEAN E. *Politics of Water in Arizona.* Tucson, University of Arizona, 1963. $6.50

Morgan, Dale L., ed. *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail.* Georgetown, California, Talisman, 1963. 2 vols., $20.00

Morín, Raúl. *Among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in WW II and Korea.* Los Angeles. Borden, 1963. $5.00

Nadeau, Remi. *California: The New Society.* New York, David McKay, $5.50

Newhall, Nancy. *Ansel Adams: Vol. 1, The Eloquent Light.* San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1963. $17.50

Paul, Rodman. *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1888.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. $4.50

Pourade, Richard F. *The Silver Dons: Volume Three of The History of San Diego.* San Diego, Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1963. $9.50

Ray, Verne F. *Primitive Pragmatists: The Modoc Indians of Northern California.* Seattle, University of Washington, 1963. $5.00

Robinson, W. W. *Little History of a Big City: Los Angeles.* Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. $6.00

Special Libraries Association, Southern California Chapter. *Union List of Periodicals in Libraries of Southern California.* Riverside, Central Magazine Company, 1963. Apply

Stephenson, Terry E. *Don Bernardo Yorba.* Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. $3.75

Turner, George. *Slim Rails Through the Sand.* Los Angeles, Trans-Anglo Books, 1963. $6.95

Twain, Mark. *Mark Twain's San Francisco.* Edited by Bernard Taper. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963. $6.95

Weber, Francis J. *California's Reluctant Prelate.* Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. $6.75

Wynn, Marcia Rittenhouse. *Desert Bonanza: Early Randsburg, Mojave Desert Mining Camp.* Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. $8.50

ARTICLES

Allen, Lee N. "The McAdoo Campaign for Presidential Nomination in 1924," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXIX (May, 1963).

Anderson, Totton J. "Extremism in California Politics: The Brown-Knowland and Brown-Nixon Campaigns Compared," *The Western Political Quarterly*, XVI (June, 1962).

Beggs, Beatrice, tr. "The Diary of Rafael Gómez: Monterey in 1836," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLV (September, 1963).

Birkett, Charles V. "The Ready Relief Mine," *San Diego Historical Society*, IX (October, 1963).

Carranco, Lynwood. "Three Legends of Northwestern California," *Western Folklore,* XXII (July, 1963).

Chase, Don M. "The Rushton-Norton Letters from the Gold Fields," *The Pacific Historian,* VII (May, 1963).

Clendenen, Clarence C. "A Confederate Spy in California," *Southern California Quarterly,* XLV (September, 1963).

Cole, Martin. "Pío Pico Mansion: Fact, Fiction and Supposition," *Journal of the West,* II (July, 1963).

Daniels, Roger. "Workers' Education and the University of California, 1921-1941," *Labor History,* IV (Winter, 1963).

Drury, Clifford M. "Hanged Twice in Effigy [Dr. William Anderson Scott, Founder of the San Francisco Theological Seminary], *Journal of Presbyterian History,* XLI (June, 1963).

Fairbanks, F. L. "Early Day Banks and Banking in Ventura County," *Ventura Historical Society Quarterly,* VIII (May, 1963).

Feldhaus, Mary Grace. "Father Peter Masten Dunne, S.J.: A Bio-Biography," *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia: Records,* LXXIV (March-June, 1963).

Francis, Myrtle Shepherd. "Theodosia Burr Shepherd, California's Pioneer Floriculturist," *Ventura Historical Society Quarterly,* VIII (August, 1963).

Freeman, V. M. "The Farmers Ditch," *Ventura Historical Society Quarterly,* VIII (February, 1963).

Gilbert, Benjamin Franklin. "Mexican Alcaldes of San Francisco, 1835-1846," *Journal of the West,* II (July, 1963).

Gohres, Helen. "Barefooted to the Gold-Fields," *San Diego Historical Society,* IX (July, 1963).

Grivas, Theodore. "The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publisher of the West: A Review of Sixty Years of Service, 1902-1962," *Arizona and the West,* V (Spring, 1963).

Hawgood, John A. "John Augustus Sutter: A Reappraisal," *Arizona and the West,* IV (Winter, 1962).

Hunt, Aurora. "The Civil War on the Western Seaboard," *Civil War History,* IX (June, 1963).

Kenney, Harry. "Tales of Early Sespe Days," *Ventura Historical Society Quarterly,* VIII (November, 1962).

McGloin, John Bernard. "Catholic Attitudes in San Francisco during the Civil War," *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia: Records,* LXXIII (March-June, 1962).

Morrison, Raymond Kenneth. "Luis Antonio Argüello: First Mexican Governor of California—Part II," *Journal of the West,* II (July, 1963).

Parsons, John E., ed. "Nine Cousins in the California Gold Rush," *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVII (October, 1963).

Romer, Margaret. "The Story of Los Angeles—Part IV," *Journal of the West*, II (July, 1963).

Rush, Philip S. "Escondido, California—The Hub of Northern San Diego County," *The Southern California Rancher*, XXVIII (September-October, 1963).

Rush, Philip S. "Warner's Hot Springs—The Old San José Ranchos," *The Southern California Rancher*, XXVIII (July-August, 1963).

Stuart, Reginald R., and Grace D. Stuart, eds. "Journal of a Voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco by Robert Gordon, 1849," *The Pacific Historian*, VII (February, 1963; May, 1963).

Thornton, Harry Innes, Jr. "Recollections of the War by a Confederate Officer from California," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLV (September, 1963).

Weber, Francis J. "In Search of a Bishop," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLV (September, 1963).

Whetstone, Margie L. "The Escondido Story," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (July, 1963).

Book of Remembrance

On view at the Mansion is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1962 and 1963.

Established in 1945

1962

Preston Ackerman
Rayma Murphy Armstrong
George Frederic Ashley
Rea E. Ashley, M.D.
Jackson T. Baird
Nina Bancroft
Marie Bourdase
Bess E. Bowen
Allison Watkins Bruner
Leo Carrillo
Sarah DeWitt Coffin
Oscar Cooper
Katherine Cremin Craig
John Ide Dakin
Frank J. Edoff
Anne Wessberg Elliott
M. Frank Flowers
Vallejo Ballieu Gantner
Mabel Ray Gillis
Jesse Wilber Glover
Percy L. Griffin
Michael Harty
Benjamin Frank Howard
Ethel May Irvine
Donald Kessler
Hylda V. Knutsen
Maude V. Knutsen
William Eric Lawson
Frank A. Leach
Louis Lisser
Ann Swain McConaughy
Rhoda Catherine McRae
Robert D. Marshall
William G. Miller
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Chester Biven Moore, M.D.
Beatrice Nickel Morse
Robert A. Muir
Lilo McMullen Perrin
Timothy Guy Phelps
Adeline R. Rainey
Florence Reinhardt
Winifred Laver Rush
Ottilie R. Schubert
Selma A. Schubert
Robert Joseph Servín
W. Barclay Stephens, M.D.
Mabel Symmes
William Thomas
Max Weston Thornburg
James W. Towne
George W. Turner
Sam Bell Wakefield, III
Rollo Clark Wheeler
Verna Edgren White
James Henry Willey
John R. Williams
Roberton F. Williams
Barbara Wolff
Maud N. Woods
Helen Potter Wunderlich

1963

Lucy Helen Allyne
Josephine McLaughlin Ast
Leavitt Baker
John Franklin Barnard
Edward Wheatley Bullard
Thomas Franklin Chace
Joseph Clement
Oscar Cooper
Edith Margaret Coulter
George Magee Cunningham
George A. Davidson
Hubert V. Dieden
Effa Eversole Digby
Charlotte Du Frane
George Alexander Du Frane
Edgar Wallace Dutton
Kenneth Loveland Ferguson
Timothy Ignatius Fitzpatrick
Herman K. Fox
Valeria Furlong
Chester F. Gannon
Adeline Howard Gilchrist
David Griffin
Madeline Hampton

Benjamin M. M. Hartshorne
Frances S. Hastings
Seth Heney
Pearl Owsley Huggins
Florence Katz
Louise D. Kleinsorge
W. E. Kleinsorge
Lillian Hall Larson
Leland Stanford Lathrop
Enid Turner Lisser
Ruth Livingston
Edward Dean Lyman
Roscoe W. Maples
Charles O. Martin
Orris Martin
Tulita Wilcox Miner
William H. Moffat
Malcolm W. Moss
A. Stanwood Murphy
Edith Larkey Needham
Sylvia A. Newkirk
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Alice Scott Smith
William Henry Smith
David Ellington Snodgrass
Norman R. Sutherland
Alfred B. Swinerton
Charles Hubbard Thurman
Alice Larkin Toulmin
Catherine Valvo
William S. Wells, Jr.
Hedwig Winkler
Veta Swift Wolcott
Henry Allyn Wood
Lottie Gertrude Woods
Reine L. Yehl

In Memoriam

EDITH MARGARET COULTER

Miss Edith M. Coulter died on January 27, 1963, closing a long and effective career as teacher, reference librarian, author, collector, and responsive friend. To her, life must have brought deep satisfaction, for although a person of integrity and ideals will have suffered many alarms during a long life span, her interests and convictions were maintained with such constancy and strength that the pleasures of achievement and of the quest were always fresh.

A teacher whose quizzically stern look sometimes awed a new student, she tempered her high expectations with wit and a sparkling eye. Her personal interest in the substance she taught quickly carried to her listeners, who were often permanently infected by her enthusiasm and learning. To many she proved wise and sympathetic—harboring no pretense and suffering none, she was an honest adviser and lasting friend.

A continuing interest in bibliography and history brought her intense pleasure, produced a number of published books, and led to her warmest acquaintances with historical persons, places, and collections, and to friendships with collectors, writers, publishers and printers. Out of unpublished letters, travelers' accounts, and historical prints, maps, and views came the chief monuments to her memory: *The Drawings and Letters of Daniel Wadsworth Coit* (1937), *A Camera in the Gold Rush* (1946), *13 California Towns* (1947), *California Pictorial* (1948), *An Account of a Visit to California, 1826-'27* (1951), and *An Account of a Tour of the California Missions* (1952), some of them shared with Eleanor Bancroft and Jeanne Van Nostrand.

Miss Coulter was born in Salinas, California, in 1880; and so intimate was her knowledge of the history of the region that some of her friends professed to believe she was a contemporary and confidante of Hartnell, Leese, and Figueroa, and one of the pioneers. She received the A.B. degree from Stanford University in 1905, completed the program in Librarianship at the New York State Library School (Albany) in 1907, and obtained the M.A. at Berkeley in 1924. She went from Albany to the Stanford University Library, where she became head of the periodicals department, and then to the reference department at Berkeley in 1911. With Sydney B. Mitchell she was one of the founders of the library school at the University of California, working and teaching with him the courses which were first given in the College of Letters from 1918, and then, from 1929 to 1949, was a full-time faculty member of the School of Librarianship, ascending the academic scale from instructor to professor, and becoming a fellow in 1953. Her official retirement from teaching came in 1949.

She was active in the California Historical Society and the Book Club of California, and was a stalwart member of the Women's Faculty Club of the University at Berkeley when the rights of academic women were even harder to attain than they are now. In 1961 she received the Isadore Gilbert Mudge citation from the American Library Association "for distinguished contributions to reference librarianship."

Miss Coulter's retirement came slowly, enforced by her four score years. The "Edith Mabel Coulter" which for long appeared in the Berkeley telephone directory represented in fact a most remarkable pair. Miss Mabel Coulter, the surviving partner, now carries alone a great cumulation of friendship and respect.

NEAL HARLOW

EDITH M. COULTER PUBLICATIONS

Historical Bibliographies, by Edith M. Coulter and Melanie Gerstenfeld. University of California Press, 1935.

An Artist in El Dorado: The Drawings and Letters of Daniel Wadsworth Coit. Edited, with a biographical sketch, by Edith M. Coulter. Grabhorn, for the Book Club of California, 1937.

Coast and Valley Towns of Early California, Santa Barbara, text by Edith M. Coulter. Book Club of California Keepsake, 1938.

An Account of a Visit to California, 1826-27, reprinted from a Narrative of a Voyage of the Pacific and Bering Strait under Command of Capt. F. W. Beechey. With an Introduction by Edith M. Coulter. Grabhorn, for the Book Club of California, 1941.

A Camera in the Gold Rush, by Edith M. Coulter and Jeanne Van Nostrand. Book Club of California, 1946.

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Gregory's Guide for California Travellers via the Isthmus of Panama, by Joseph W. Gregory. Introduction by Edith M. Coulter. Book Club of California, 1949.

Account of a Tour of the California Missions, 1856: The Journals and Drawings of Henry Miller. Introduction by Edith M. Coulter and Eleanor Bancroft. Grabhorn, for the Book Club of California, 1952.

Contributor to California Historical Society *Quarterly*, and to various professional journals.

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Edith M. Coulter Lecture presented annually at the Conference of the California Library Association
Isadore Gilbert Mudge Award, 1961
Doctor of Literature, Mills College, 1960.

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DEAN WITTER & CO.

The firm was established in 1924 by Jean Witter, Guy Witter, Ed Witter, and Dean Witter, who were formerly associated with the predecessor firm of Blyth-Witter & Co., which was organized in 1914.

Dean Witter & Co. has grown and developed continuously except for the Second World War, when over 100 members of the organization joined the service, and now has 50 offices covering all of the major cities and many of the secondary ones of the Pacific Coast. Its principal offices are in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Seattle, and Portland.

The firm employs over 1,800 people and has memberships in the New York, American Stock Exchange, Pacific Coast Stock Exchange, and nearly all of the commodity exchanges. It is the largest brokerage firm headquartered out of New York City and one of the largest in the United States.

VARIAN ASSOCIATES

Varian Associates was founded in 1948 in San Carlos. The six original founders, and for a time the only employees, included Russell and Sigurd Varian, brothers and coinventors of the klystron. Invented in 1937, this microwave tube played a significant role in the World War II radar. Two of the company's founders, Dr. Edward L. Ginzton and H. Myrl Stearns, are today chairman of the board and president, respectively. Established as a custom research and development laboratory, Varian Associates has grown far beyond the early dreams of its founders. Now employing more than 4,000 persons in nearly 1,000,000 square feet of floor space in Palo Alto and five subsidiary plants, the company's annual sales exceed $70,000,000.

Known primarily as a developer and manufacturer of advanced microwave tubes for radar and communications, Varian Associates has also become a world leader in other scientific fields. Its development of Nuclear Magnetic Resonance spectrometers and Electron Paramagnetic Resonance spectrometers has given chemists valuable new analytical tools. Varian ultra high vacuum equipment, utilizing an all-electronic pump invented by Varian engineers, is used in a number of advanced scientific and military applications. Varian-developed electron linear accelerators are finding wide use for cancer therapy, industrial radiography, and in high-energy physics research. In addition, Varian produces some of the world's finest laboratory electromagnets and strip chart recorders.

In addition to its Palo Alto plant, Varian has divisions or subsidiary companies at Beverly, Massachusetts; Union, New Jersey; Watsonville, California; Lexington, Kentucky; Georgetown, Ontario, Canada; and in Zug and Zurich, Switzerland. Recently, the firm entered into a joint venture with Compagnie Française Thomson-Houston to establish a microwave tube manufacturing plant in Paris.

BLAKE, MOFFITT & TOWNE

Blake, Moffitt & Towne owes its name to three enterprising young printers who had come to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. As power-press printers and partners, Francis Blake and James Moffitt, turned out many of the leading San Francisco newspapers of the 1850's and early 'sixties. James W. Towne had founded Whitton, Towne & Co. in 1852, the firm which printed the first issue of the *Daily Evening Bulletin.* In 1868, its successor, Towne & Bacon, was dissolved, and James W. Towne joined Blake & Moffitt to establish the paper house of Blake, Robbins & Co. The death of the fourth partner, Charles F. Robbins, in 1884, resulted in the incorporation of the remaining three under the name Blake, Moffitt & Towne. By 1883, a branch had been established in Portland, Oregon, marking the beginning of an expansion that was to add further links—Los Angeles in 1891, Seattle in 1900—until, by 1952, virtually every major market center in the six western states was covered by a chain of 18 divisions, numerous warehouse locations, and resident sales representatives. Except for a 20-year period starting in the 1870's, the organization's activities have been devoted solely to the business of paper wholesaling. From a modest beginning, the company has matured into one of the nation's largest distributors of industrial and printing papers. Since 1961, it conducts its business as a division of Kimberly-Clark Corp.

BAKER OIL TOOLS, INC.

Mr. Reuben Carlton Baker, pioneer California oil producer and drilling contractor, patented his famous Baker Casing Shoe in 1907 and licensed various companies to manufacture it. By 1913, the Baker Casing Shoe was doing so well that he formed his own royalty-collecting corporation—The Baker Casing Shoe Co.

Mr. Baker's inventions were so successful by 1918 that he bought a machine shop in Coalinga and began to manufacture his own products.

In 1921, new, highly prolific oil fields were discovered in the Los Angeles Basin, at which time Mr. Baker built a new plant in Huntington Park and established headquarters there.

In 1924, a branch office and warehouse was opened in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and an export representative was established in New York to handle increasing purchases by foreign customers. An office and a warehouse were opened in Houston in 1927. In 1936, a large-scale manufacturing plant was built in Houston.

More and more branches and facilities were added as the decades of the thirties, forties, and fifties passed. New equipment was added to the evergrowing line of Baker products, and the company continued to grow. The Baker Oil Tools Company of today, consisting of two manufacturing plants, sixty-seven branches, and six domestic and foreign subsidiary companies, seems far removed from the little machine shop of 1918.

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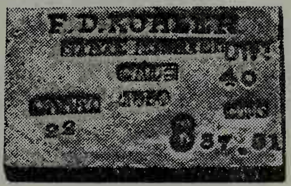

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